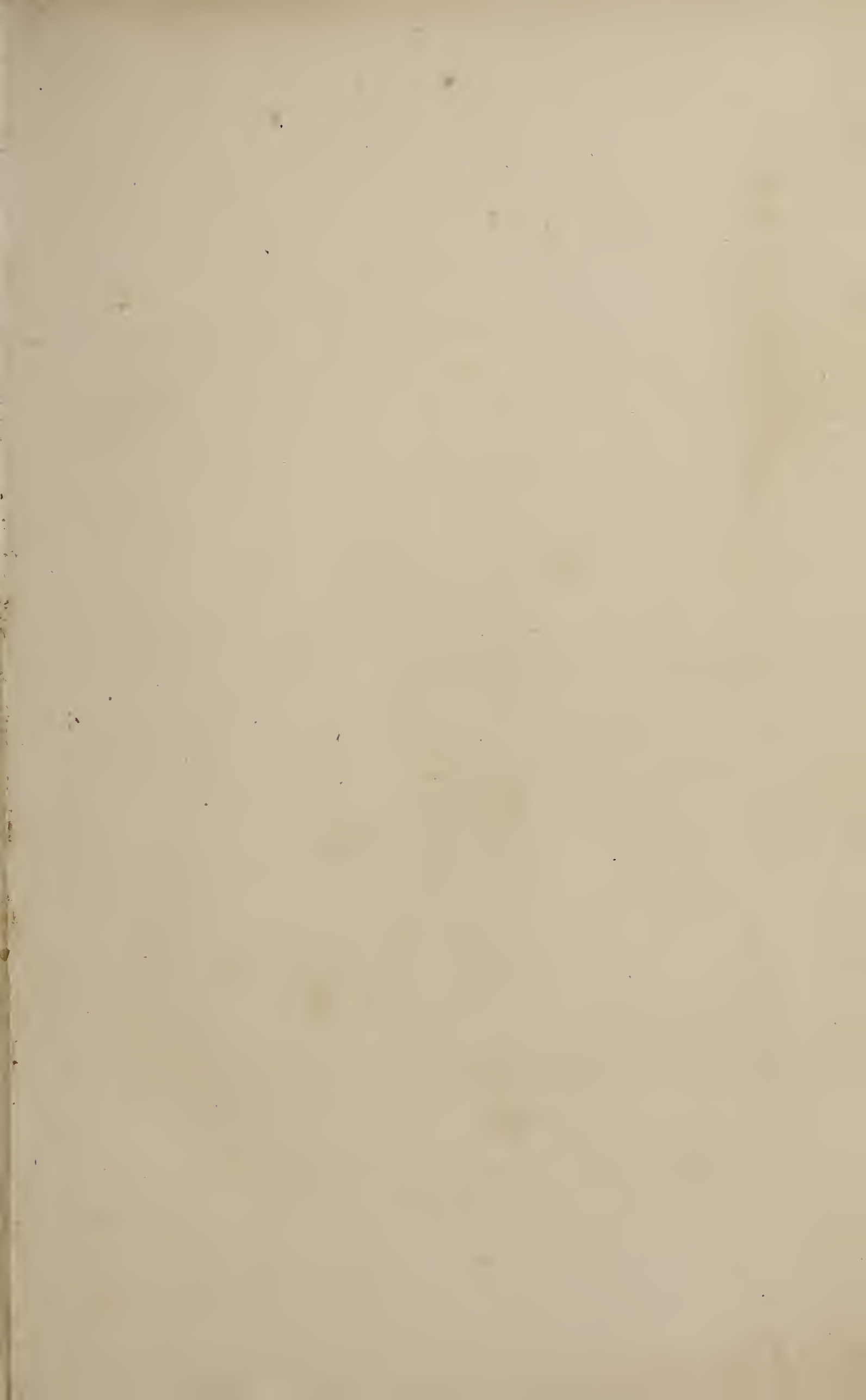


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Father Junipero Serra, O.S.B.
Apostle of Upper California.

HISTORY
OF THE
CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN
CALIFORNIA.

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CHAPTER I.]

ARRIVAL OF THE FRANCISCANS—SKETCH OF FATHER JUNIPERO—HIS FIRST MISSION—PROJECT OF CHARLES III. FOR FORMING INDEPENDENT KINGDOMS OUT OF THE AMERICAN VICEROYALTIES—COMMENCEMENT OF THE MISSIONS IN UPPER CALIFORNIA—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSIONS OF SAN DIEGO—LETTER OF FATHER JUNIPERO—EXPLANATION OF THE TERMS PRESIDIO, PUEBLO AND MISSION.

WE have seen, in the previous volume, how the Jesuit Fathers were expelled from Lower California by orders of Charles III. The property they had acquired, and which consisted of extensive lands and herds, passed into the hands of the government, to be used for the advantage of their successors. For themselves they were permitted to retain only the most necessary articles. The same devoted, apostolic spirit that animated these, the first missionaries, was alike conspicuous in their successors. At the head of the new administration charged with the entire spiritual and temporal concerns of the country, was Father Junipero Serra, a man of great zeal, much learning, and extensive administrative ability. His endeavors in behalf of the Indians have placed him in the foremost

rank of apostolical missionaries. As his labors have been intimately connected with the establishment and progress of the missions in Upper California, and the early history of the country in general, it is only proper to introduce him, at the outset, to the notice of the reader.

Father Junipero Serra, the most remarkable man under the new administration, was born of humble parents, in the isle of Majorca, on the 24th of November, 1713. He received in baptism the name of Michael Joseph, which he changed on his entrance into religion for that of Junipero, out of devotion to the companion of the great founder of his order.¹ From his tenderest years he was instructed in the principles of virtue, and co-operated with the graces bestowed upon him by God. His elementary studies were made in the convent of St. Bernardino. It was there he conceived the desire of devoting himself to the immediate service of God. After completing his primary course, he was sent by the Fathers, who recognized his many endowments and his natural disposition to virtue, to the capital city, Palma, in order to acquire the higher branches necessary for the holy office of priesthood. His residence at the capital only served to increase his desire of consecrating himself to the service of the altar, in the capacity of a Religious. At his earnest request, he was accord-

(1.) *Relacion Historica de la Vida*, del venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra, p. 4.

ingly received as a member of the holy order of St. Francis, on the 14th of September, 1730, being then only in the sixteenth year of his life. From that moment his progress in virtue was remarkable. During the time of his novitiate, he applied himself with all the energy of his youthful, ardent mind, to the acquisition of the perfection necessary for so holy a state.

The better to animate himself to the observance of rule and the acquisition of virtue, he read often and carefully, the mystic works of the order, in which were recorded the numerous favors promised by God, and the illustrious founder, to those who observe their religious profession. He took a special interest, too, in perusing the chronicles of the same wherein were narrated the history of so many venerable and saintly Religious. From the constant reading of the lives of the Saints and the biographies of remarkable Religious, there was created in his mind, as in the case of the great Ignatius of Loyola, a most ardent and vehement desire of imitating their actions, and especially of those who had devoted themselves to the conversion of the gentiles. He even earnestly desired, were it the will of the Almighty, that he might be permitted to give his life in testimony of his love. Speaking to a friend of his early desire of going to America, he once said, "I had no other motive than to revive in my heart those glorious designs

which I formed in my novitiate, when reading the lives of the Saints."

At the end of his probation, which for the members of the order is a year, he made his religious profession on the 15th of September, 1731, taking for his name in religion, as I have remarked, that of Junipero, out of devotion to the companion of St. Francis. So great was the joy he experienced on that occasion, that he never forgot it during the remainder of his life; referring to it in subsequent years, he would exclaim in the words of holy writ, "*Venerunt mihi omnia bona pariter cum illa.*"

To his religious profession, too, he attributed the wonderful improvement effected at this time in his health. For being for a considerable time in a weakly, sickly condition, unable to perform the regular duties enjoined by the rule, he now made such a rapid improvement as enabled him to follow without difficulty, the regular order of the community.

In view of his very considerable talents, his superiors removed him now to their principal college, for the study of philosophy and theology. There he acquired such a reputation for learning that while yet only a student, he was appointed to a chair of philosophy—an office he discharged with such satisfaction and ability, as to attract to his lectures numbers both of the secular and regular clergy. Before the end of the philosophical curriculum, he was honored by the university of

the country, with the honorary degree of doctor of divinity, and a chair of theology. The onerous duties thus imposed upon him as professor of divinity did not prevent him from directing his attention to the salvation of souls in the preaching of the gospel, in which we are assured he acquired as much reputation as he had in the other departments. It was not that he sought the esteem and applause of the world, for his soul yearned only after the salvation of sinners, so that if, in the devoted discharge of his duty, the brilliancy of his talent acquired him the admiration of all, it was a result that he had neither contemplated nor sought. To do good to his neighbor, to fulfill the duties of his calling and thus promote the interests of religion was the great object of his ambition—the main-spring of his life.

From the time of his novitiate, when he consecrated himself to the exclusive service of God, the desire of being employed in the conversion of the gentiles was the most ardent affection of his soul. To this he was ready to sacrifice every comfort, honor and emolument. Like his great predecessor and counterpart, the mathematical professor of Ingolstadt, he was willing to exchange the honors of a university and the praises of an enlightened community for the hardships and trials of a missionary priest. Sentiments so noble, generous and praiseworthy could not fail of an ample reward—they were worthy of a Saint and an Apostle.

The voice of the Lord was not long still in his regard—it spoke to him in the depths of his heart, and bade him go forth from his country, his kindred and home, as a light and a guide to the poor wandering savages of Northern America. Then, for the first time, did he experience that happiness which none but an Apostle can feel. Gladly and devoutly he harkened to the divine voice calling him to the sublime dignity of an herald of the divine word; but lest he might be acting from impulse and mistaking his call, he took occasion to recommend himself most fervently to God and the ever immaculate Virgin, and, when assured of the divine will, he hastened, without delay, to make the necessary preparations for his departure.

On the twenty-eighth of August, 1749, in company with twenty other Religious, he embarked for America, the future scene of his missionary labors, where he was destined by Providence to be an instrument in the hands of the Lord for the conversion of thousands. The voyage being unusually long even for those days, it being ninety-nine days from their departure till their arrival, they suffered not a little towards the end from a scarcity of provisions and of water. Father Junipero, however, never for a moment lost his usual tranquillity. He was never seen to exhibit the slightest impatience. Every morning he offered the adorable sacrifice of the mass, and occupied himself during the day, when not otherwise en-

gaged, in devotional exercises and instructing the crew. So remarkable was his life even then, that he was regarded by all as a model and pattern of virtue. Before arriving at Vera Cruz, where they were to disembark, they encountered a terrible storm, by which the safety of the vessel was placed in the most imminent danger. On the fourth of December, the violence of the tempest became so alarming that all except the subject of our sketch gave themselves over as lost. When afterward asked how he maintained his tranquillity, and if he had not felt any fear, he answered in the affirmative, but added, that having remembered the end for which he had come, the fear immediately left him. To the intercession of the glorious Virgin and martyr St. Barnaba, whose festival happened on that day, the Religious attributed their happy deliverance from the midst of their dangers.

Arrived at Vera Cruz, Father Junipero, accompanied by only a single companion, and with no other provision for the journey than his firm and unalterable confidence in the overruling providence of God, set out on foot for the city of Mexico, distant from that port about five hundred leagues. During the journey they experienced most sensibly the signal protection of Heaven. An instance or two will suffice. Once during the journey, after traveling all day, they found themselves at the approach of night on the banks of a river across which they were unable to pass, while the place

they were endeavoring to reach was at some distance on the opposite side. The darkness of the night, the absence of a guide, and the danger of attempting the stream under the circumstances, caused them the greatest embarrassment. To return whence they had started in the morning was impracticable, to seek a guide was in vain, while to remain exposed to the inclemency of the night at that, the coldest part of the year, would likely have resulted in sickness or death. One means only seemed capable of delivering them from their unpleasant and, indeed, dangerous position. It was prayer—the prayer of apostolic men, which never fails to be heard. Hardly had their supplications been ended, when there appeared on the opposite bank an indefinable object moving slowly along. Thinking it might be a man, Father Junipero cried out at the top of his voice, and was presently answered by a venerable Spaniard, who, after conducting them to a part of the river where they were enabled to cross, led them to his house at some distance, and carefully provided for them during the night. On questioning their benefactor next morning why he had been there at that particular hour, the only answer they could obtain from him was that he had gone there in haste, and that there was no necessity of inquiring too minutely into the matter.

On another occasion they experienced the protection of God in an equally remarkable manner.

After passing the night at a village, they received, on their departure, from the chief of the place, a portion of bread as an alms. They had not gone very far when they encountered a beggar ; and, though prudence might have dictated the propriety of retaining for themselves the little they had, they gave the whole of the loaf as an alms to the pauper, and went on their way, trusting in the protection of Heaven. Towards evening, after traveling all day without meeting a dwelling, or being able to procure any food, they became exceedingly weak and exhausted. Thereupon they encountered a traveler, who, upon inquiring into their state, and the object of their journey, presented them with a loaf of unusual excellence, which he divided between them. In subsequent years, when exhorting his people to confidence in God, the venerable Father would instance such cases as these, which he affirmed were not the result of mere chance, but a part of the economy of divine Providence in providing for the wants of His servants.

After a toilsome, painful journey of fifteen hundred miles, the whole traveled on foot, they finally arrived at the city of Mexico, on the first of January, 1750. The Father's first care, on entering the convent of the order, was to return thanks to the Almighty for his safe and prosperous journey. During the six months he spent here with his brethren, he remained chiefly in the capacity of

a novice, preparing himself for the great work on which he was about to embark.

Six years before his arrival, an attempt had been made and not without profit, to bring the numerous wandering tribes of the great territory of the Sierra Gorda to a knowledge of the truth. This extensive, uncultivated region, having to the south the city of Queretaro, extended northward about three hundred miles, with an average breadth of one hundred or more. It was inhabited by a large gentile population, to whom the gospel had never been preached. The Dominicans and Augustinians had founded missions on its borders, but had never penetrated into the interior. By a royal warrant, issued in 1744, its reduction was entrusted to the Franciscans; in accordance with which, an expedition was undertaken and five missions established at that period. The rules by which they were to be governed were chiefly as follows: Every morning at sunrise the people were to assemble in church for morning prayer, mass and instructions. At evening the same rule was to be observed, excepting, of course, the holy sacrifice of the altar. On Sunday, no one was to be absent without cause from the regular service, at which a homily on the gospel, or on some of the principal mysteries of religion was to be given. The more intelligent and better instructed were to be exhorted to a frequent reception of the sacraments. The regulation respecting temporal mat-

ters enjoined on the Fathers the production of grain and the raising of herds, in order to meet the necessary wants of the people. By the laborious and untiring exertions of the Religious, a population of some four or five thousand soon settled down at the missions. Such was the place destined by Providence for the first missionary labors of Father Junipero Serra, the Apostle of Upper California.

In obedience to the commands of his superiors, at the beginning of June, 1750, in company with his friend and future biographer, Father Francis Palou, he set out from the college of St. Fernando, in Mexico, to take charge of one of the recently established missions in the territory above-named. The flock entrusted to his care consisted of neophytes still undergoing instruction, unbelievers and recently converted gentiles, as yet only poorly instructed in the doctrines and observances of the Church. His first and principal care on entering on his duties, was to apply himself to the study of the vernacular; into which, after he had tolerably acquired, he translated the prayers and principal doctrines of religion. These he daily recited for the people, until, by frequent repetitions, they became deeply impressed on their minds, and a spirit of religion created in their hearts. His constant and fervent exhortations wrought such a change in their lives, that many if not most, were brought to confess and communicate on the principal festi-

vals of the year. Like St. Francis of Sales, he himself gave them the example; for it was his custom to confess in presence of the people.

Thus, by word and example, this venerable man gained over the entire of the community, brought them to a frequent reception of the sacraments, and to a deep and earnest sense of religion. Oftentimes in his little congregation, at first not exceeding a thousand, as many as fifty or a hundred would approach the adorable sacrament of the altar on week days, the numbers on Sundays and holidays being proportionately great. For nine years he labored on in this humble position, ever advancing the interests of religion, ever acting the part of the Apostle—by constantly enrolling new subjects in membership with the Church of the Redeemer; until, when recalled at the end of that time, with the view of being placed over the Californian missions, not a gentile was to be found in that immediate section of the country that had not been brought by his prayers, example and exertions to a knowledge of the truth. The actual numbers he converted, and the labors he must have undergone in seeking them out and conquering their savage, stubborn natures, have unhappily never been fully recorded by any of his companions. But, though thus lost to our notice, it is consoling to know that they are unerringly chronicled in the imperishable records of the world above.

The means adopted by this venerable missionary to create and foster a spirit of devotion in the minds of his people, were as manifold and attractive as his love for his Divine Master was strong. Preaching, exhorting, catechizing and confessing were his constant and unwearied employments. Preceding all the principal festivals he had instituted novenas in which all the congregation took part with the view of preparing themselves to celebrate the more worthily the feasts to which they referred. The festivals of our divine Lord and his blessed Mother he especially celebrated with all the pomp and splendor his slender resources enabled him to command, which, though meagre and insignificant compared with those of older and civilized Christian communities, were truly engaging and attractive in the eyes of the natives. On these particular occasions, not content with the usual parochial instructions, he preached twice on the same day. Quadragesima, or the holy season of Lent, was particularly devoted to offices of piety. The entire community entered into the spirit of the time. Every evening all the faithful assembled in the church for the recitation of the holy rosary and other devotional exercises, showing by their general conduct and demeanor how deeply they realized the solemnity of the time. The Fridays were set apart for the celebration of the Stations of the Cross, when the whole people went in solemn procession out of the village,

Father Junipero bearing on his shoulders an enormous cross in memory of the passion of our blessed Redeemer. Passion and Palm Sunday and Holy Week were celebrated with great care and the more remarkable parts in the Passion of the Saviour brought strongly before the minds of the Christians. With such care and attention it was not possible for him to fail in bringing the people to a high standard of virtue.

In obedience to the voice of authority he had now to take leave of this people, and to repair to the capital in order to receive instructions preparatory to his assuming charge of a new mission to be established in the country of the Apaches, the most savage and ferocious of all the barbarous tribes in the Spanish dependencies. It was the will of the Almighty, however, that this mission should not be entrusted to his care; he was employed meantime in the convent of his order at Mexico, where he gave the most edifying proofs of his virtue, being occupied almost continually in giving missions to the people, both in the town and country.

Such was the general character of the man who was placed at the head of the new administration and destined by Providence to be the Apostle of Christianity to the gentile inhabitants of Upper California.

The importance and necessity of forming garrisons and establishing colonies along the Califor-

nian coast, had long been an object of much consideration, as we have seen, to the Spanish authorities. The necessity of protecting the eastern trade first demanded the measure; but there was now the additional reason of defending the country against foreign encroachments.

After the conquest of Siberia, toward the middle of the seventeenth century, the Russians appeared for the first time in the Pacific. In 1648, the intrepid navigator, Dejeneff, by sailing between Asia and America, solved the problem of a north-eastern passage, which for a century and more had occupied the public attention in Europe. Three quarters of a century later, the Danish captain, Behring, then in the service of the widow of Peter the Great, passed through the same strait, from whom it has taken its name. From then till 1768, when the Jesuit Fathers took possession of Lower California, various expeditions were forwarded by Russia, with the view of examining the coast and the islands preparatory to making settlements in the country. The previous appearance of Drake, Cavendish and Dampier in these waters, also made it a matter of pressing necessity to take the most precautionary measures. There was, further, the fear that the American people would, before long, rid themselves of British dominion, which would be only the signal for some of the Spanish dependencies detaching themselves from the central authority. With the view, then, of re-

sisting encroachments, and of preserving intact his American possessions, Charles III contemplated forming the different viceroyalties into separate kingdoms, having for their sovereigns members of his own family, subject, however, as suzerains, to himself, who was to enjoy the title of Emperor of the Indies. The vastness of the scheme was worthy of a great and ambitious ruler, and would, if carried into effect, have the result of consolidating the Spanish-American possessions; and by making Madrid the centre of authority, have given to Charles and his successors a power which none of his predecessors ever enjoyed. Time and circumstances prevented the scheme being carried into effect.

As soon as the newly-arrived Fathers had taken possession of the missions and property of Lower California, Father Junipero applied himself to carrying out the wishes of government respecting the reduction of the upper part of the country. It was agreed upon by the viceroy, Don Joseph de Galvez and himself, to establish at the outset three garrisons and missions, as follows: One at San Diego, another at Monterey, and a third at an equal distance between these. The chief objects of the viceroy were the defence of the country and the advancement of the temporal interests of the crown. A little later the garrisons could be extended farther north, and a stronger hold obtained on the country. According to agreement,

two expeditions were formed—one to proceed by land and the other by sea to the port of San Diego, where the first mission was to be established. San Diego, which, as we have mentioned in the first volume, was discovered by the Spanish navigator, Cabrillo, in 1542, and named by him San Miguel, was one of the safest harbors on the coast. The name San Miguel, as we have also remarked, was afterward changed for its present by Admiral Viscaíno, who visited it in 1602. It is situated in the thirty-second degree of north latitude, and forms the boundary between Upper and Lower California. A line drawn thence due east would meet the Colorado about its embouchure. During the missionary period, San Diego was the most important station on the northern coast. It was to Upper California what Loretto was to Lower. There was the principal mission, or what in conventual language may be termed the *Maison Mere* of the Fathers. As a port and central position it was well adapted for the purposes intended.

The naval expedition consisted of three corvettes, the St. Charles, the St. Anthony and the St. Joseph, having on board a considerable number of persons, agricultural implements, and everything requisite for forming a colony. The voyage, though only a few hundred miles, took them several months, and proved most disastrous to many. The St. Charles and the St. Anthony lost

several of their men from scurvy and a want of provisions, while the St. Joseph, after putting to sea, was never heard of again.

The land expedition, accompanied by Father Junipero, was divided into two parts, patriarchal fashion, so that if one perished the other might be saved. The first of these arrived at San Diego after a weary march of fifty-four days, and was not joined by the other for a month and a half later. While on the way they founded a mission dedicated to St. Fernandez at a place called Villacata, in Lower California. The circumstances attending the establishment of this mission, the first formed by the Franciscan missionaries since their arrival in the country, are thus described by Father Palou in his life of Father Junipero: "On the day following they commenced the foundations: the venerable Father President being vested with alb and stole, blessed the holy water, and with it the site of the church, and the holy cross, which, being saluted as usual, was planted in front of the church. They named as patron, both for the church and mission, the holy king of Castile and Leon; St. Fernando. Having chaunted the first Mass the President pronounced a most fervent discourse on the descent of the Holy Ghost and the establishment of the mission. The sacrifice of the Mass being concluded the *Veni Creator* was sung, the want of an organ and other musical instruments being supplied by the continual discharge

of the fire-arms during the ceremony, and the want of incense of which they had none by the smoke of the muskets.”¹

The sixteenth of July was appointed for the establishment of the new mission at San Diego, the first in Upper California. Then for the first time the saving symbol of our holy religion was erected on this soil, and measures adopted for the conversion of the inhabitants. The time was in every way suited to the occasion. On that day the Spanish population was celebrating at home the triumph of the cross over the crescent: the memory of the celebrated victory of 1212 over the Moslem power was then brought back to the recollections of all. On that day, too, the entire Catholic Church was keeping one of the many feasts in honor of the glorious Mother of God—the feast of Mount Carmel. So, under the patronage of the great Queen of Heaven, and with the memory laden with the remembrance of the triumph of the symbol of faith, Father Junipero Serra, robed in alb and stole, as on the previous occasion, in presence of all the Christians, both civil and military, solemnly blessed the cross and placed it in a position facing the port, where it was to be the signal of mercy and salvation to all. Then was celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass, which was followed by a discourse proper to the occasion, and thus

(1) See *Palou's Life of Father Junipero Serra*.

was laid the foundation of the first Christian mission in Upper California on the 16th July, 1769.

The following letter, written at this time by Father Junipero to his friend, Father Palou, giving an account of the journey and the general situation of affairs, it is thought, will prove interesting to the reader:

“MY DEAR FRIEND:—Thank God I arrived the day before yesterday, the first of the month at this port of San Diego, truly a fine one, and not without reason called famous. Here I found those who had set out before me, both by sea and land, except those who have died. The brethren, Fathers Crespi, Biscaino, Parron and Gomez are here with myself, and all are quite well, thank God. Here are also the two vessels, but the San Carlos without sailors, all having died of the scurvy, except two. The San Antonio, although she sailed, a month and a half later, arrived twenty days before the San Carlos, losing on the voyage eight sailors. In consequence of this loss it has been resolved that the San Antonio shall return to San Blas to fetch sailors for herself and for the San Carlos.

“The causes of the delay of the San Carlos were: first, lack of water, owing to the casks being bad, which, together with bad water obtained on the coast, occasioned sickness among the crew; and secondly, the error which all were in respecting the situation of this port. They supposed it to be

thirty-three or thirty-four degrees north latitude, some saying one and some the other, and strict orders were given to Captain Villa and the rest to keep out in the open sea till they arrived at the thirty-fourth degree and then to make the shore in search of the port. As, however, the port in reality lies in thirty-two degrees thirty-four minutes, according to the observations that have been made, they went much beyond it, thus making the voyage much longer than was necessary. The people got daily worse from the cold and the bad water, and they must all have perished if they had not discovered the port about the time they did. For they were quite unable to launch the boat to procure more water, or to do anything whatever for their preservation. Father Fernando did everything in his power to assist the sick, and although he arrived much reduced in flesh, he did not become ill, and is now well. We have not suffered hunger or other privations, neither have the Indians who came with us, all arrived well and healthy.

“The tract through which we passed is generally very good land, with plenty of water, and there as well as here the country is neither rocky nor overrun with brushwood. There are, however, many hills, but they are composed of earth. The road has been in some places good, but the greater part bad. About half-way, the valleys and banks of rivulets began to be delightful. We found vines

of a large size, and in some cases quite loaded with grapes; we also found an abundance of roses, which appeared to be like those of Castile. In fine, it is a good country, and very different *from old California*.

“ We have seen Indians in immense numbers, and all those on this coast of the Pacific contrive to make a good subsistence on various seeds, and by fishing. The latter they carry on by means of rafts or canoes, made of tule (bullrush) with which they go a great way to sea. They are very civil. All the males, old and young, go naked; the women, however, and the female children, are decently covered from their breasts downward. We found on our journey, as well as in the place where we stopped, that they treated us with as much confidence and good-will as if they had known us all their lives. But when we offered them any of our victuals, they always refused them. All they cared for was cloth, and only for something of this sort would they exchange their fish or whatever else they had. During the whole march we found hares, rabbits, some deer, and a multitude of berendos (a kind of wild goat).

“ I pray God may preserve your health and life many years.

“ From this port and intended mission of San Diego, in North California, third July, 1769.

“ FRANCIS JUNIPERO SERRA.”



From a drawing by Vischer

A. L. Bancroft & Co. Lith.

Mission of San Antonio de Padua

Before entering into details respecting the labors of the Fathers, it is proper to make the reader acquainted with the general plan on which the reduction of the country was contemplated. To this end, it is necessary to understand the meaning attached to the terms *presidio*, *castillo*, *pueblo*, and *mission*, by which agencies the country was sought to be brought to a knowledge of religion, and into subjection to the crown. The *presidios*, as may be readily inferred from the name, were the military garrisons established along the coast for the defence of the country and the protection of the missionaries. Being the head-quarters of the military, they became the seats of the local governments of the different presidencies into which the country was divided. They were four in number—San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey and San Francisco. Unique in their general plan, they consisted of adobe¹ walls, twelve or fourteen feet high, enclosing a square of three hundred feet on each side, defended at the angles by small bastions, mounted with eight twelve-pounder bronze cannon. Within were the barracks, the store-houses, the church for the soldiers, commandant's dwelling, etc.

On the outside they were defended by a trench twelve feet wide by six deep, the earth from which was made to serve as an outwork. They were entered by two gates, opened by day and

(1) Sun-dried bricks.

closed at night. The number of soldiers assigned to each was limited to two hundred and fifty, but they were rarely up to that number. From these principal stations, in addition to the duty of guarding the coast, detachments were required to accompany the Fathers when journeying through the country, or engaged in establishing missions. Four or five men and a sergeant were ordinarily detailed for this purpose. A certain number of troops, too, was appointed for every mission, for the purpose of preserving order and defending the Fathers and neophytes from any sudden attack on the part of the gentiles, a precaution not entirely unnecessary, as the subsequent bad faith of the savages abundantly demonstrated. The military composing the garrisons were in the first instance infantry raised on the borders of Sonora. Those were afterwards replaced by cavalry, entitled "*Compañias de cuera*," or leathern companies, so called from their wearing leathern armor. The uniform which was a kind of buckskin dress somewhat resembling a coat of mail, descended to the feet, and was impenetrable to arrows. The horses were also encased in the same, like those of the knights of old.¹ The entire annual cost to the government of these establishments was fifty-five thousand dollars.

The *castillos* were species of covered batteries situated at short distances from the presidios,

(1) See *Exploration de l'Oregon*: par Mons. Duflot de Mofras.

which they were intended to guard. Though manned like the latter with a few guns, they were at best but a feeble defence against a powerful enemy, sufficient, however, for the purpose intended. The *pueblos*, or towns, which were only of subsequent origin, owed their existence in the first instance to the old Creole and Spanish soldiery, who, after retiring from the army, settled down in the country. They were entirely apart from the presidios and missions, but were served by the Fathers from the latter. The lands belonging to them were obtained in grant from the Religious. Induced by the example and success of the first settlers others adopted a similar course, which was followed by others again, till, after a time, the population of the *pueblos* exceeded those of the neighboring missions. There were, however, only three such establishments properly so-called in the whole country—Los Angeles, San José, and Banciforte, near Santa Cruz. They were not subject to the Fathers, but were governed first by the Spanish and afterwards by the Mexican authorities. Each *pueblo* had its *alcalde* or mayor, three *regidores* and a *syndic*, who composed the *Ayuntamiento*, or Town Council.¹

Although, as has been remarked, the population of the *pueblos* exceeded, in some instances, that of the missions, it was still never very great, not exceeding at any time more than a few thou-

(1) See *Dwinelle's Colonial History of San Francisco*.

sands. According to Forbes, the entire mixed and white population of Upper California in 1839 was only five thousand.¹ Besides the pueblos, properly so-called and established in the manner described, there were others of lesser importance which grew up under the protection of the presidios and the missions. In all, then, there were three classes of such settlements—those properly so named: the *presidial pueblos* and the *mission pueblos*. The *rancherias*, or King's lands, were the farms set apart for the use of the troops. They were only used as pasture grounds for the cattle and horses belonging to the soldiers. In fine, the missions were the third and most important part into which the population was divided. Here the natives resided, nor was it given to others to inhabit there except for a very limited time. The object of this wise precautionary rule was to prevent the intercourse of the white and colored population, for it was feared, and not without reason, that the latter would be injured by a communication with the former. Like the presidios, the missions were all constructed on the same general plan, though differing in some instances, according to circumstances, in minor details. They were quadrilateral buildings, two stories high, enclosing a court-yard ornamented with fountains and trees. The whole consisted of the church, Father's apartments, store-houses, barracks, etc. The quadri-

(1) See Forbes' *Hist. Cal.*

lateral sides were each about six hundred feet in length, one of which was partly occupied by the church. Within the quadrangle and corresponding with the second story, was a gallery running round the entire structure and opening upon the work-shops, store-rooms and other apartments.

The entire management of each establishment was under the care of two Religious; the elder attended to the interior and the younger to the exterior administration. One portion of the building, which was called the monastery, was inhabited by the young Indian girls. There, under the care of approved matrons, they were carefully trained and instructed in those branches necessary for their condition in life. They were not permitted to leave till an age to be married, and this with the view of preserving their morality. In the schools, those who exhibited more talent than their companions, were taught vocal and instrumental music, the latter consisting of the flute, horn and violin. In the mechanical departments, too, the most apt were promoted to the position of foremen. The better to preserve the morals of all, none of the whites, except those absolutely necessary, were employed at the mission.

The daily routine at each of the establishments was almost the same as that followed by the Jesuits in Lower California, and of which we have spoken before. At sunrise they arose and proceeded to the church; where, after morning prayer,

they assisted at the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Breakfast next followed, when they proceeded to their respective employments. Toward noon, they returned to the mission, and spent the time from then till two o'clock between dinner and repose; after which, they again repaired to their work, and remained engaged till the evening angelus, about an hour before sundown. All then betook themselves to the church for evening devotions, which consisted of the ordinary family prayers and the rosary, except on special occasions, when other devotional exercises were added. After supper, which immediately followed, they amused themselves in divers sports, games and dancing, till the hour for repose. Their diet, of which the poor of any country might be justly envious, consisted of an abundance of excellent beef and mutton, with vegetables in the season. Wheaten cakes and puddings, or porridges called "atole and pinole," also formed a portion of the repast. The dress was, for the males, linen shirts, pants, and a blanket to be used as an overcoat. The women received each, annually, two undergarments, a gown and a blanket. In years of plenty, after the missions became rich, the Fathers distributed all the surplus moneys among them in clothing and trinkets. Such was the general character of the early missions established in Upper California by the disciples of St. Francis.

CHAPTER II.

EXPEDITION TO MONTEREY. — DISCOVERY OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY. —
THE CHRISTIANS AT SAN DIEGO ATTACKED BY THE NATIVES. — FIRST
BAPTISM. — SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS. — PROPITIOUS ARRIVAL OF SUP-
PLIES. — LETTER OF FATHER JUNIPERO. — SINGULAR OCCURRENCE.
— ARRIVAL OF MISSIONARIES. — LOWER CALIFORNIA GIVEN TO THE
DOMINICANS. — FATHER JUNIPERO GOES TO MEXICO.

THE description given in the foregoing chapter applies only to the main buildings of the missions. The Indians lived in little thatched huts grouped around, a couple of hundred yards from the principal edifice. These huts were usually made of adobe, but in some instances, in the earlier stages of the missions, they were constructed of rough poles, erected in a conical shape and thatched with grass. The former, when tiled and whitewashed, as was sometimes the case, presented a neat and comfortable appearance. Here the married Indians resided with their families; the unmarried of both sexes being kept apart in large apartments in the main building, under strict supervision. A walled enclosure was drawn round some of the establishments, but others were devoid of such protection. A tract of land about fifteen miles square was assigned to each, a portion of which was put under cultivation, and the surplus used for pasturage.

As there were no claimants to dispute the Fathers' rights, the herds, some of which numbered as many as thirty thousand, fed over a great range of country, in fact, as much as they pleased. The true limits of the mission lands appear to have been the equi-distances between the establishments, which, ordinarily, were not more than twenty or thirty miles apart. A difficulty afterward arose respecting the right of the Religious and their communities to these lands. The Fathers maintained that they belonged to the missions, and had been given by government to them; but when the question of secularization came up, the civil authorities maintained that they had been only given on trust for agricultural purposes, remaining, at the same time, the property of the nation, and, consequently, subject at all times to a change of hands under the provisions of the colonization laws. The grounds on which this opinion was founded were, that the missions were never intended to be permanent establishments; that the Fathers were only the pioneer clergy, to be followed by a secular body, to whom the care of the people should be entrusted, when the missions would assume the title and privileges of pueblos. Such, at least, was the interpretation of the Mexican and American judicial authorities. Passing judgment in the case of his grace, the Most Rev. Dr. Alemany, whose claim to the churches and appurtenances of the old missions had been brought

before the courts, Judge Flech, of the Californian Board of Land Commissioners, says: "The missions were intended from the beginning to be temporary in their character. It was contemplated that in ten years from their first foundation they should cease. It was supposed that within that period the Indians would be sufficiently instructed in Christianity and the arts of civilized life, to assume the position and character of citizens; that the mission settlements would then become pueblos, and that the mission churches would become parish churches, organized like the other establishments of an ecclesiastical character in other portions of the nation where no missions had ever existed."

From this the reader will learn to distinguish between the terms mission and mission lands. The former, which included the houses, vineyards and orchards in the immediate vicinity of the churches, comprised also the cattle belonging to the Religious; while the lands of which we have spoken as being assigned for grazing and agricultural purposes, were said to be held only in fief, and were afterwards claimed as government property against the voice and remonstrance of the Fathers. How far the civil authorities were justified in claiming these lands on the grounds stated we shall see further on, when we come to treat of the secularization of the missions.

On the fourteenth of July two days before the

establishment of the new mission of San Diego, an expedition, commanded by Don Gaspar Portala, according to instructions from the governor, set out by land to discover and settle the port of Monterey, so called after Viscaino, count of that name, who visited it in 1603. The expedition was composed of the commandant, three officers, one sergeant, the Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Gomez, with twenty-six soldiers, seven muleteers, and fifteen Indians of Lower California, making in all a total of fifty-five Europeans and Indians. There remained only at San Diego the Father President, two missionaries and eight soldiers as a guard. From one cause or another, they did not find the port they were in search of, or, if they did, failed to recognize it as such. They were, however, well compensated by the discovery of another of still greater dimensions, and which was destined in after ages to become the greatest commercial port of the Pacific. Judging from the way they were led thither, one might, without exposing himself to the charge of credulity, trace therein the directing providence of God. When treating about the establishment of the missions, before leaving Lower California, the titles of which were assigned by the viceroy on the part of the government, Father Junipero represented to his excellency that the name of St. Francis, the great founder of the order, did not occur among the number. To this the visitador replied, that if

St. Francis desired a mission, he should point out a place for it. “Si San Francisco quière mission, que haga se halle su puerto, y se le pondrà.” According to the instructions received, the expedition set out on the date above mentioned, but not recognizing the port of Monterey, as has been remarked, they continued their journey with the same object, when at the distance of forty leagues further on, they came to a magnificent bay, to which they concluded the providence of God had conducted them in honor of the Saint, and they accordingly agreed to name it after the illustrious man—hence the name San Francisco.

It may here occur to the reader to inquire whether this was the first time the bay of San Francisco was visited by Europeans, and whether its discovery is to be exclusively attributed to the Religious. Touching this question, there has been hitherto considerable doubt, many believing it to have been first visited by an Englishman, in the person of Drake, in 1599. From recent investigation, however, there are no longer any reasonable grounds to assign its discovery to any but the Religious. That none of the early Portuguese captains, despatched by the government for the purpose of examining the coast, knew of its existence, though some of them passed it on their voyage, is freely admitted by all. The opinion of those who attribute it to Drake, has been founded on a passage in the chronicle of Fletcher, as quoted by Pinkerton.

After passing the Strait of Magellan, in the year above mentioned, Drake continued his voyage along the coast, plundering as he went on; but fearful of falling in with the Spaniards if he returned by the Horn, he determined pursuing a western course, and thus returning to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Disappointed in this, by reason of contrary winds, he descended the coast from the forty-third to the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, where he cast anchor, and took possession of that part of the country in his sovereign's name, giving it the title of "New Albion." "Being got into forty-three degrees north latitude," says Fletcher, "they found it intolerably cold, upon which they steered southward, till they got into the thirty-eighth degree north latitude, where they discovered a country which, from its white cliffs, they called New Albion, though it is now known by the name of California. They here discovered a bay, which entering with a favorable gale, they found several huts by the water side, well defended from the severity of the weather."

From this it has been concluded that the bay discovered by the missionaries was the same as that entered by Drake. For a time this seems to have been the popular belief, but at present it is almost universally discredited, the ablest and most accurate writers holding the contrary opinion. "This port—San Francisco," writes Humboldt, "is frequently confounded by geographers with

Port Drake, further north under the thirty-eight degrees ten minutes of latitude, called by the Spaniards Puerto de Bodega." "He—Drake," says De Mofras, "cast anchor in Port Reyes, situated between San Francisco and Bodega." Though there is a discrepancy in these statements, one making Bodega the same as Port Drake, and the other representing them as different bays, there is yet a coincidence regarding the question at issue. Forbes is of opinion that Drake did not descend as far as California proper at all, though it is difficult to understand how he could have made such a statement had he been acquainted with Fletcher's account.¹ More modern writers still are of the same opinion.² The grounds on which these writers formed their conclusions are, that if Drake really entered the bay Fletcher would have given a better and fuller description of it. It is hardly to be supposed that such a man would have failed to note its chief characteristics—its great extent, depth of water and security against storms. On the other hand, the accounts furnished coincide rather with the harbor of Bodega, the coast and cliffs there resembling those of Brighton and Dover, a circumstance which might have led to the country being named New Albion. But stronger than this, and, indeed, all but absolutely conclusive, was the tradition derived from the

(1) See *Forbes' Hist. Cal.*: p. 80.

(2) *Annals of San Francisco*: p. 33.

early Spaniards, that the place where the English commander landed was not the bay of San Francisco, but another part of the coast. There are, then, most reasonable grounds for believing that Drake did not enter the Golden Gate. Anyhow, until something more than mere conjecture can be advanced, the honor of being the discoverers of San Francisco Bay must be allowed to the pioneer Catholic missionaries, who, with the view of establishing Christianity in the country, arrived here in the year 1769.

The expedition commanded by Portala returned to San Diego on the twenty-fourth January, 1770, being absent six months and eight days. While the party was away the Father President and his companions were in the greatest danger from the bad faith of the Indians. As in the case of the Jesuit Fathers, on their first arrival in the country, the natives, thwarted in their desire of obtaining all the articles they coveted, determined to get rid of the Christians for the sake of their goods. What excited their avarice was not so much the articles of provision, as in the case of the Jesuits, but rather the clothing and covering of every description. At first they proceeded with caution, pilfering only by night, but afterwards more openly, trusting to their numbers and strength, when finally they resolved to get possession of all by killing the Father and his companions. This they attempted to do on the twelfth and thirteenth of

August, but without avail. A perilous position, indeed, it was for the little band—ten or a dozen persons, without a fort, barricade or other means of defence save what a few hastily erected huts could afford, and surrounded at the same time by hundreds of infuriated savages eagerly bent on their destruction, and armed with bows and arrows, spears, clubs and stones. The interposition of Heaven alone seemed capable of saving them in the emergency.

On the 15th of the month, two days after the first attack had been made, the Indians in great numbers fell on the mission and began plundering everything that came in their way. The soldiers were immediately put under arms, when the savages retired to a distance and began shooting their arrows. The firing was kept up with vigor on both sides for a considerable time, till the enemy retired, having lost several in killed and wounded; the loss on the part of the Christians being only one killed and four wounded. The result of this engagement proved entirely different from what might have been expected. Instead of either entirely abandoning the place and retiring to the mountains, or of reinforcing their numbers and making a fresh attack on the Christians, they returned with peaceful dispositions, begging the wounded to be cared for, and evincing in their manner a certain salutary fear and respect, which the recent defeat had created in their minds.

Matters having thus assumed a favorable turn, and the natives being brought to a better disposition, Father Junipero took the first steps toward the great work of conversion. So ardently was he inflamed with the desire of gaining the people to Christ, that every day seemed to him an age till he made his first conquest among them. Of those who frequented the mission was a youth of tender years and good disposition. Him the Father made use of to obtain his first subject for baptism. Having informed him of the importance of the sacrament and advantages resulting therefrom, he urged him to go among his own and obtain the consent of some of the parents for the baptism of their infants. The boy, either with the view of pleasing the Father, or from a holier motive, proceeded to the execution of his commission, and before long reappeared, accompanied by a number of his kinsmen and a child, whose parents gave the missionary to understand it was their wish it should be baptized. The Father's gratification at this prosperous issue was unbounded. Now he was to reap the first fruit of his labors; now the first conquest was to be made among the children of error. Full of this holy and pious idea he ordered the babe to be clad, and invited the soldiers and civilians to be present at the ceremony. The preliminary rites were gone through to the great joy and edification of all; already the moment had arrived when the little one was to be enrolled.

among the number of the faithful, when lo, as the Father was about to pour the water on its head, the Indians, prompted no doubt by the suggestion of the evil one, grabbed eagerly at the child, tore it from the hands of the god-father and rushed precipitately away! So great was the sorrow that the venerable missionary felt at this unexpected result that for several days grief was visible in his countenance, and his humility was such that he attributed the conduct of the natives as a punishment from God upon himself for his sins. Even in subsequent years, when relating the circumstance, the tears would come to his eyes, but however sorely he may have felt the disappointment, the loss was afterward amply rewarded, for, by his subsequent labors, he gained over to Christ at this mission as many as one thousand and forty-six souls.

The same dangers that threatened the first missionaries on their arrival in Lower California, stood in the way of their successors in this part of the country. On the return of the expedition, after the discovery of the bay of San Francisco, it was found that the supply of provisions on hand was insufficient for more than a couple of weeks. It was also but too plain to be seen that the country was unable to afford the necessary means of subsistence; hence they were necessitated to rely on the arrival of the vessel dispatched to the coast of New Spain for additional pro-

visions. But, as the vessel was absent more than double the time required for performing the voyage, it seemed to the governor that little or no hope could be entertained of her safety. He accordingly informed the Fathers that unless she appeared by the twentieth of March (the feast of St. Joseph, the patron of the missions), he would embark the entire expedition, abandon the country, and return to Old California. This resolution afflicted the president exceedingly; for in it, if carried out, he saw the frustration of all his designs; the loss to the country of the blessings of religion, and the triumph, for the time, of the powers of darkness. Another generation might pass before a similar effort would be made for the salvation of the people; obstacles of a more formidable nature, meantime, might arise, while to retire at that particular moment, would exhibit a weakness and indifference unworthy alike of the Christian and the minister of religion. But under the circumstances, what was to be done? As far as he himself was personally concerned, he was determined to remain, and to trust to divine Providence for his support and protection; but to retain the expedition was his principal concern. For this, one only means seemed capable of success—holy and fervent prayer, by which such innumerable triumphs have been gained by the faithful in every age.

While others, then, having given up all hope of

the safe arrival of the vessel, occupied themselves about their return, little else having been spoken of in the camp since the governor had given his orders, Father Junipero and his brother Religious devoted themselves ardently to prayer, beseeching the Almighty to come to their aid and prevent the return of the expedition. A certain conviction was ever present to his mind that God would not abandon them at that critical moment. Day by day, however, their anxiety increased, as no trace of the vessel appeared. The first and a part of the second week of March had come and gone without the expected aid. A few days more and all would be turning their faces from that part of the country. A thought occurred to the Father. Through St. Joseph, the protector of the missions, their petitions would surely find acceptance with God. A novena was accordingly begun, to be concluded on the twentieth of March, the day fixed for departure. Eight days pass and the result is the same. On the nineteenth and last day of the exercises, they renew, with fervor, their supplications to the throne of grace; the Mass of St. Joseph is celebrated with all the solemnity their circumstances permit; and behold! that evening, before the summer sun went down beyond the distant hills, the long, long-wished for vessel hove in view! Who is there that does not recognize in this the hand and providence of God? On that day the novena was ended, and on that day the

vessel appeared. The unbeliever, no doubt, may attribute it to chance or accident; but the Christian, who knows the meaning of the Redeemer's words: "Ask, and you shall receive," will attribute it to its legitimate cause. The joy this event brought to the heart of the Father, may be better imagined than described. In it he recognized the special protection of Heaven, and in gratitude therefor he resolved to celebrate annually a Mass to St. Joseph in commemoration of the occurrence.

The San Antonio having brought a large stock of provisions, arrangements were now made for undertaking anew another expedition to the port of Monterey. Like the first to San Diego, it was divided into two parts, one to proceed by sea and the other by land. Both started about the middle of April, but did not arrive before the end of May, the naval part of the expedition being six-and-forty days on the voyage, which now can be made in less than a tenth of the time. Subjoined is the account furnished by Father Junipero on his taking possession of the place. Writing to his friend and companion, Father Palou, he says:

"MY DEAREST FRIEND—On the thirty-first day of May, by the favor of God, after rather a painful voyage of a month and a half, this packet 'San Antonio,' commanded by Don Juan Perez, arrived and anchored in this port of Monterey, which is unaltered in any degree from what it was when

visited by the expedition of Don Sebastian Viscaino, in the year 1603. It gave me great consolation to find that the land expedition had arrived eight days before us, and that Father Crespi and all others were in good health. On the third of June, being the holy day of Pentecost, all the naval and land officers, and the people assembled on a bank at the foot of an oak, where we caused an altar to be erected, and the bells to be rung. We then chanted the *Veni Creator*, blessed the water, erected and blessed a grand cross, hoisted the royal standard, and sang the first Mass that ever was celebrated in this place. We afterward sang the *Salve Regina* before an image of the Virgin, and concluded the whole with a *Te Deum*. After this, the officers took possession of the country in the name of the king. We then all dined together in a shady place on the beach; the whole ceremony being accompanied by many volleys and salutes by the troops and vessels," etc.

He then goes on to express his solicitude about matters immediately connected with religion: "As it is a whole year since I received any letter from a Christian country, your reverence may suppose in what want we are of news; but, for all that, I only ask you when you can get an opportunity to inform me what the most holy Father, the reigning Pope, is called, that I may put his name in the canon of the mass; also, to say if the canonization of the beatified Joseph Cupertino

and Serafino Asculi has taken place ; and if there is any other beatified one, or Saint, in order that I may put them in the calendar, and pray to them, we having, it would appear, taken our leave of all printed calendars. Tell me, also, if it is true that the Indians have killed Father Joseph Saler, in Sonora, and how it happened ; and if there are any other friends defunct, in order that I may commend them to God ; with anything else that your reverence may think fit to communicate to a few poor hermits, separated from human society. We proceed to-morrow to celebrate the feast and make the procession of Corpus Christi, (although in a very poor manner,) in order to scare away whatever little devils there possibly may be in this land.

“FR. JUNIPERO SERRA.”

After the ceremonies of taking possession of the port had been ended, the Father applied himself to the establishment of the mission. For a time, his object seemed in a measure defeated, for the Indians who had been present at the commencement of the ceremony became so alarmed on hearing the repeated volleys of musketry, that they all, without an exception, hastily withdrew and hid themselves through fear in the mountains. After a little they reappeared and returned to the mission, to the great joy and consolation of the Father. It was not, however, for several months from his landing that he was able to effect any conversions among them. This should not be a matter of sur-

prise, when we remember the utterly savage and barbarous condition of the people, their disinclination to lead a regular life, and the difficulties of instructing them in the elementary truths of religion. But even here the zeal and indefatigable labors of the Father were equal to the emergency. On the twenty-sixth December, while the memory was still fresh with the recollection of the ineffable goodness of God in becoming man for our sakes, the first solemn baptism was performed by the Religious at the mission of Monterey. Once a beginning made, things took a more favorable turn. The number of Christians and neophytes began rapidly to increase; believers were added to the church by tens and by twenties, till at the end of the third year from the date of their arrival, as many as one hundred and seventy-five of the natives had been received among the number of the faithful.

That the Indians of this locality were brought to a knowledge of the truth by special graces from God, the following would seem to be a proof: On the arrival of the second expedition at the port of Monterey, Father Crespi and his companions found the cross erected by their predecessors surrounded by darts, rods and feathers stuck in the ground, the work, evidently, of the natives. On one side of the sacred symbol was a string of little fish suspended from a pole, while at its foot lay a quantity of mussels and a morsel of flesh. The strangeness of the circumstance naturally attracted the at-

tention of the missionaries, and led them to inquire into the cause. The account received from the natives was to the effect that the first time they noticed the cross on the strand it was surrounded by a bright, luminous light, which, in a manner, changed night into day, and seemed to rise upwards to the heavens. At this unusual sight they were exceedingly alarmed, but as it resumed its natural appearance by day they were emboldened to approach and examine it; and, in order to propitiate it in their interest and save themselves from harm, they made it the food-offerings noticed. But seeing that it did not make use of them, they offered their plumage and arrows as an indication of their willingness of maintaining with it a peace, as also with those who planted it there. Such was the account given by several Indians, and at different times, so that there does not seem to be any grounds for doubting the reality of the vision.

It is, indeed, by no means improbable that the Almighty might have made use of this means to draw this poor people to a knowledge of the truth; for as they were partly incapable of reasoning on matters of religion by reason of the dullness of their understanding, a miracle of this nature may have been offered to incline them thereto. It was thus, under somewhat similar circumstances, that Christianity first found favor with the great, for, until the time that the cross appeared in the heavens to the conqueror of Maxentius, the relig-

ion of Christ was proscribed through the entire of the civilized world.

As soon as Father Junipero found himself at liberty, after erecting the necessary buildings at the mission, he set out to examine the country in every direction in the immediate vicinity of the port. Having found in his travels several places adapted for missions, he immediately forwarded an account to the authorities in Mexico, begging them to come to his aid with an additional number of clergy. To the honor of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, it must be acknowledged that they immediately attended to his request; and, as Providence would seem to have provided for the occasion, several Fathers having then just arrived from Old Spain, as many as thirty were shortly on their way, twenty for Lower and ten for Upper California. They embarked at San Blas in the San Antonio and San Carlos, in the months of January and February, 1771. The first, with the missionaries for Upper California, arrived at San Diego on the twelfth of March, after a tedious voyage of sixty-eight days, during which all became affected with scurvy. How strange that in those days it never occurred to the authorities to have taken any precautionary measures against this fearful distemper. In almost every voyage of more than ordinary length they appear to have suffered, more or less, from its effects. From San Diego they proceeded in the same vessel, on the tenth of April,

to the port of Monterey, their final destination preparatory to taking charge of the new stations. The other vessel, the San Carlos, with the missionaries for Lower California, was most singularly unfortunate; she met with a continued series of disasters. Shortly after putting to sea she encountered a continuance of contrary winds and currents, which drove her from her course, and carried her in a southerly direction as far down as Acapulco, several leagues to the south of San Blas. Here the captain might have anchored and waited a more favorable moment for sailing, but from some fatality special to the San Carlos he allowed himself to be carried still further to the south till he arrived at Manzanillo, where, unfortunately, he ran ashore, to the great injury of the vessel. The missionaries, thus finding themselves cast upon a barren, inhospitable land, and seeing little or no prospect of the vessel being speedily repaired, formed the resolution of proceeding on foot to the coast opposite Loretto, a distance of eighteen hundred miles, which they eventually accomplished with the loss of only one of their number. The dangers and hardships they must have undergone on that perilous journey, may be easily imagined by remembering that the entire distance had to be performed along a coast remarkable for its insalubrity—abounding in dangers and destitute of roads, inhabitants and provisions of every kind.

The arrival of the first missionaries at the port

of Monterey, in Upper California, brought the greatest consolation to the heart of Father Junipero. The object of his most earnest desires, the conversion of the savages, seemed now in a fair way to be attained. Heaven appeared to be smiling upon his efforts; and whatever troubles or difficulties he may have had to encounter before, were now quickly forgotten in the company of so many virtuous, saintly associates, come to labor for the salvation of the people. Not to lose an opportunity so favorable, before the newly-arrived missionaries separated for their respective positions, he took occasion to celebrate the solemn festival of Corpus Christi, with all the pomp and solemnity the circumstances of the time would permit. A solemn High Mass, consisting of the celebrant, deacon and sub-deacon, with a sermon and a procession of the most adorable sacrament, formed the principal part of the religious celebration. A more touching and edifying spectacle it would be hard to conceive. A number of venerable men, inflamed with the most ardent love of the Lord, assembled on a foreign shore, and celebrating the divine mysteries preparatory to their going forth as heralds of the gospel to a people who had never learned the first rudiments of religion! This was indeed a scene worthy of religion and deserving of the age.

The remarkable success of the Fathers up to this date, in establishing themselves in the upper

and lower part of the peninsula, and the favorable accounts they forwarded to the authorities in Mexico of the dispositions of the natives, excited the zeal and holy ambition of another body of Religious, whose ardor for the salvation of souls, made them desirous of sharing in the work of conversion. At the beginning of 1772, the Dominican Fathers at Mexico obtained from the court of Madrid a royal warrant, by which the Franciscans were requested to make over to them one or more of the missions in Lower California. The object of government was to give each of the orders a field for its labors, and a share in the conversions of the savages. As the introduction, however, of a different element, was likely to be attended with danger to religion, in case the members of different orders were employed in the same part of the vineyard, it seemed more advisable to the Franciscan authorities to offer their brother Religious, the Dominicans, the whole of their charge in Lower California. As for themselves, they would retire to the upper part of the country, and there labor for the same end. The proposition was favorably received and ratified by the viceroy in a council held for the purpose, on the thirtieth of April of that year. In May of the subsequent year the Dominicans departed from Mexico and took charge of the missions, while the Franciscans retired into Upper California, where, concentrating their force, they quickly produced

the most remarkable results in the reduction of the country and the conversion of the natives.

During the time that negotiations were pending for the tradition of the missions to the Dominican Fathers, Father Junipero was not idle in carrying out the object of his mission. After the celebration of the solemn festival mentioned before, accompanied by a number of his Religious and an escort of soldiers, he proceeded to establish an additional mission, to be dedicated to St. Antony of Padua, in the mountains of St. Lucy. The ceremonies attending the establishment of this mission, being the same as have been related before, are known to the reader. The success of the missionaries here was all that might be reasonably expected. At the end of a couple of years, one hundred and fifty-eight persons had been received into the Church. This number may appear only trifling to some; but considering the sparsely populated character of the country, and that only some hundreds inhabited those special localities, the success of the Religious must be regarded as eminently satisfactory. Fifteen days after the establishment of this mission, Father Junipero returned to Monterey, and while waiting to set out for the establishment of the mission of St. Louis, occupied himself in changing the site of the St. Carlos to a more favorable position. As soon as the necessary buildings could be erected, he transported there the

neophytes and cattle, and made it the headquarters for himself, never leaving it till the time of his death, except when engaged in establishing or visiting other establishments. At the same time, conformably to his orders, the mission of San Gabriel was founded by Fathers Cambon and Somera, to the north of San Diego. In connection with its establishment is a circumstance deserving of notice. Upon proceeding to the locality where they intended forming the mission, they encountered a number of Indians, who, by their gestures, shouting and general appearance, seemed determined to oppose them in their work. Seeing that the people were armed and headed by a couple of chiefs, apparently ready to lead them to battle, one of the Fathers, in order to appease the anger of the multitude, exhibited a banner with the image of Our Lady of Dolours upon it; whereupon the clamor of the savages subsided, and the leaders, throwing their arms aside, came forward on the part of the people, and signified their desire to be at peace with the Christians. An account of the Father's arrival and the circumstances attending it having spread through the country, great numbers of people were attracted to his presence, and thus, under the most favorable auspices, the mission was begun. The following letter, written at this date, will give the reader an idea of the missionaries' position:

“MY DEAR FRIEND—Thanks be to God, I am in good health and suffer little from want. There is

no fear of being obliged to abandon any of the missions now established. The milk of the cows and the garden vegetables have been two great sources of subsistence; these, however, now begin to grow scarce. But of this I do not complain—but rather that we have not been able to go on with new missions. All of us feel the vexatious troubles and obstacles which we have to encounter, yet no one thinks of leaving the mission.

“Our greatest consolation is the knowledge that from Monterey, San Antonio and San Diego, there are numerous souls in Heaven. From San Gabriel there are none as yet, but among those Indians there are many who praise God, and whose holy name is in their mouths more frequently than in those of many old Christians. There are, however, those who think that from lambs they will become tigers. This may be so if God permits it, but after three years experience with those of Monterey, and two with those of San Antonio, they appear to us better every day. If all are not already Christian, it is in my opinion only owing to our unacquaintance with the language. This is a trouble which is not new to me, and I have always imagined that my sins have not permitted me to possess this faculty of learning strange tongues, which is a great misfortune in a country such as this, where no interpreter or master of languages can be had until some of the natives learn Spanish, which requires a long time. At

San Diego they have already overcome this difficulty. They now baptize adults and celebrate marriages, and we are here approximating the same point; we have begun to explain to the youth in Spanish, and if they could return us a little assistance in another way, we should in a short time care little about the arrival of the vessels, as far as respects provisions; but as affairs stand at present the missions cannot much advance. Upon the whole, I confide in God, who must remedy all." He then goes on to beg an additional number of missionaries, and concludes by saying: "Let those who come here come well provided with patience and charity, and let them possess a good humor, for they may become rich—I mean in troubles; but where will the laboring ox go where he must not draw the plough? and if he do not draw the plough, how can there be a harvest? May God preserve you for many years in his love and grace.—Mission of St. Charles, Monterey, 18th August, 1772. FR. JUNIPERO SERRA."

From the foregoing the reader may observe that the position of the Fathers at this time was not entirely what might be desired. Independent of the other obstacles which retarded their progress the difficulty of acquiring the language seems to have been a peculiar embarrassment, but this they eventually conquered. Three years had now elapsed since they first landed in the country, and the result of their labors had been the establish-

ment, in Upper California, of the four missions of San Diego, San Carlos at Monterey, San Antonio and San Gabriel. As this, however, was only a beginning, and in no way sufficient to meet the exigencies of the time, Fr. Junipero started for Mexico for an additional number of Fathers, in order to carry the light of the gospel to every part of the country. So ardent and devoted to the cause of religion was this venerable man, that he knew not what it was to repose as long as there was a single unbeliever in the country. On his way he founded the mission of San Luis Obispo, which afterwards became a very flourishing place, with a native population of over twelve hundred souls. From San Diego he took shipping on the twentieth of October, and arrived at the city of Mexico on the sixth of the following February. In the journey from the coast to the capital his life was placed in the most imminent danger from an attack of malignant fever, but, by the mercy and providence of God, his days were prolonged for the good of his people. Before his arrival it had been resolved upon by the viceroy, Señor Bucarelli, to break up and abandon the port of San Blas, a resolution, which, if carried into effect, would have embarrassed the Fathers exceedingly, and endangered the existence of the missions, as that was the only route by which a direct communication could be kept up with the province and the necessary provisions obtained. Upon the representation of

the Father regarding the necessity of retaining the port as a means of communication, the viceroy altered his resolution—continued the establishment, and commanded a frigate to be built for the purpose of examining the coast. Meantime a vessel, freighted with provisions, was despatched to the aid of the newly-formed missions, but, as usual, she met with a mishap—became disabled at sea, and had to put into Loretto—thereby causing a delay which well nigh resulted in the death by starvation of the missionaries and those entrusted to their care, for when afterward relieved it was found that their provisions had long been expended, and that for several months they had been necessitated to live exclusively on milk and nuts.

Upon the determination of the viceroy regarding the continuance of the establishment at the port above-named, the vessel with the provisions for the newly-established missions having been despatched, Father Junipero directed his attention to the chief object of his visit.

In a petition drawn up for the occasion, he laid before his excellency a statement of the requirements under which the mission was then laboring, and which, if attended to, would serve to promote the best interests of government and religion. The petition was referred to a council called for the object, all the members of which, it is agreeable to think, were unanimous in its favor, and even granted more than was asked for by the Fa-

ther. In the first place, the number of troops in the country was increased, in order to provide against any sudden attack on the part of the natives, whose fickleness of character made their loyalty a matter of the greatest uncertainty. Secondly, the presidios of San Diego, Santa Barbara and San Francisco, were ordered to be immediately begun. It was also commanded that each mission then formed, or afterwards to be established, should be supplied with a number of servants, to be paid from the royal exchequer. In fine, as the fate of the vessels sailing in the interests of the missions was seen to be one of the greatest uncertainty, it was deemed prudent to try and open a communication by land at the head of the gulf, with Sonora, and thus avoid the dangers and perils to which the vessels were almost constantly exposed, and by which the very existence of the missions was oftentimes hazarded. The points of communication were the presidio of Tubac, on the frontiers of Sonora, and the port of Monterey, *via* the Gila and Colorado. The command of the expedition was entrusted to captain John Baptista Anza, who successfully performed the journey, and established the feasibility of the project.

Everything being now favorably adjusted according to the wishes of the Father, he set out from the city of Mexico in the autumn of 1773, having in his company several missionaries, offi-

cers and soldiers, and well supplied with a large stock of provisions, amounting in value to the considerable sum of twelve thousand dollars. On the twenty-fourth of January they embarked at San Blas for the port of Monterey; but, as usual, were unable to accomplish the voyage at once, and had to put into the harbor of San Diego. From here some of the Religious proceeded to their destination by sea, while Father Junipero, with a few faithful companions, preferred proceeding by land, with the view of visiting the missions. On his way he encountered the expedition commanded by Anza on their return to Sonora, by whom he was informed of the practicability of forming the communication contemplated. This, while it caused him the greatest satisfaction, was followed by the unpleasant announcement that the Christians at Monterey were in the greatest extremity for want of the necessary provisions. Thereupon, he hastened with all possible speed to the aid of the sufferers, but found, upon arrival, that the frigate had been ahead of him by a couple of days.

CHAPTER III.

EXPLORING EXPEDITION SENT OUT. — SECOND EXPEDITION. — SEARCH FOR THE NORTHEASTERN PASSAGE. — SUCCESS OF THE MISSIONARIES. — MARTYRDOM OF ONE OF THE RELIGIOUS. — LETTER OF HIS EXCELLENCY BUCARELLI. — RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RUINED MISSION. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION OF SAN FRANCISCO.

WITH the view of obtaining further information regarding the country and its inhabitants, an accurate knowledge of the coast being also important, the frigate *Santiago*, which had brought the missionaries to Monterey, was now ordered to proceed on an exploring expedition as far north as was practicable without endangering her safety. Mindful of the promise made by St. Francis, that the sight of his Religious would be sufficient to bring the natives to a knowledge of the truth, his excellency expressed the desire that the expedition should be accompanied by a missionary. In compliance with this, the governor, with Fathers Crespi and Thomas were chosen for the voyage—a position not at all over agreeable, on account of the dangers to which they were exposed from shipwreck and sickness. On the eleventh of June, 1774, they set sail, and proceeded as far north as British Columbia, to the fifty-fifth degree of north latitude, where they put into a bay, which they named Santa Margarita, on account of having an-

chored there on the feast of that Saint. Thence they returned to Monterey, carefully registering the coast on the way. As their object was not the establishment of missions, they did not land at any part of the coast; yet they had sufficient opportunities of observing the natives; for, on several occasions, they came out to them in canoes, for the purpose of bartering their wares, which consisted of tastefully wrought baskets, cloaks woven of variegated hair, mats of parti-colored bark interwoven with palm leaves, and conical shaped hats of similar material; all which they exchanged for pieces of iron, upon which they seemed to set the highest value. The men were in some cases clad with the skins of animals; but, in every instance, without exception, the females were modestly covered, and of tolerably prepossessing appearance, except so far as an ornament of wood attached to the under lip, detracted from their general merits.

Six months after the Santiago had returned to Monterey, a second expedition was undertaken at the command of the viceroy, with orders to examine the coast still further, in order that wherever a suitable port could be found for establishing a mission, the standard of the cross, and by it that of his Catholic majesty might be erected. The expedition, which was commanded by Don Bruno de Ezeta, a captain of the royal navy, was accompanied by Fathers Miguel Campa and Benito

Sierra. It put to sea from the port of San Blas toward the middle of March, 1775, being attended by a schooner under the command of Francis Bodega, after whom the bay of that name was called. Upon proceeding northward as far as the forty-first degree of latitude, they came to anchor in a tolerably sized bay, where they found the natives friendly and affable. Seeing that the place was well suited for a missionary establishment, they took formal possession of it on the eleventh of April, the religious ceremonies on the occasion being a missa cantata, sermon, and the solemn chanting of the Te Deum. This happened on the feast of the most holy Trinity, for which reason they named the place Trinity Bay. Thence they continued their voyage till they reached the forty-seventh degree, where they also anchored in a commodious harbor, and took possession of the country, by erecting a cross on the shore. The course thus adopted by the civil authorities of planting the cross wherever they landed, whatever may have been the immediate object in view, whether the subjugation of the people or the salvation of souls, was both a commendable and praiseworthy course, for by it they showed that they trusted more to religion than the sword for the reduction of the people. From Trinity Bay they continued their voyage till the thirtieth of July, when the vessels became separated in a storm, and the schooner entirely lost sight of. The commander of the frigate still con-

tinued his course, but, on reaching the forty-ninth degree, in consequence of the change of the season and the illness of his men, found himself necessitated to return to Monterey, where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of August, with most of his men suffering from scurvy. Their first care upon returning was to redeem the promise they had made to the Almighty before starting, and hence all, from the captain to the cabin-boy, devoutly approached the sacraments of the church, and assisted at a mass of thanksgiving.

The viceroy, Bucarelli, on receiving an account of the expedition, was yet unsatisfied as to the result, and immediately resolved upon another, the chief object of which was not the establishment of missions but the discovery of the long-wished-for north-eastern passage. This expedition, which was commanded by Don Ignatius Artiago, and accompanied by the Fathers Riahio and Noriega, was composed of two vessels—the *Princessa*, a new frigate built for the purpose, and the *Favorita*, purchased for a like object in Peru. Having put on board provisions sufficient to last them a year, they sailed from San Blas on the twelfth February, 1779. They had instructions not to part during the voyage, but in case they were separated by a storm or other accident, they were to make for the strait of Bucarelli, in order to form a union. By the third of May, they had proceeded as far north as the fifty-fifth degree of latitude, when

they entered amid the islands opposite what is at present British America. There they carefully examined the coast for a couple of months, expecting to discover the strait; but not finding it, they continued their course till they reached the sixtieth degree, where they entered an extensive port, well sheltered, abounding in fish, and provided with an abundance of wood and water, the two great requisites for seafaring men. To this place they gave the name of Santiago, which is supposed to be the same as Cook's Inlet. Before their departure they fixed the cross in an elevated position, after first carrying it in procession, and chanting the *Vexilla Regis*. Perceiving that the arm of the bay, where they now found themselves, stretched inland, orders were given to have it examined, in the hope that it might prove to be the strait they were in search of. A barge, with an officer, a pilot and some men, was accordingly dispatched for the purpose, and followed the course of the creek for several days, but not finding an end, they resolved upon returning to the port and giving an account to the captain, which they accordingly did. While the barge had been absent, those on the frigate were visited by numbers of gentiles, who came out to them in canoes, and bartered their goods for whatever articles the Spaniards were willing to give them. Amongst those who thus came from the shore was a man whose appearance and manner were rather remarkable. Unlike his com-

panions, he did not express any wonder or admiration at the sight or construction of the vessel, and when they asked him by signs if he had ever before seen any of the like, he pointed in the direction of a cape behind which the Russians were then supposed to be lying at anchor, for which reason the Spaniards were of opinion that the man was a Russian.

On the return of the exploring party the captain gave orders for home, and they were soon descending the coast. After passing the port of Santiago in the forty-ninth degree they encountered a terrible storm, which so completely darkened the heavens as to leave them in doubt as to their actual position. Five-and-twenty hours of painful suspense had elapsed when the obscurity was slightly relieved, but only to show them the danger to which they were exposed. On all sides in the immediate vicinity of the land they saw themselves surrounded by numerous islets and rocks, so dangerous and formidable that at any moment they were in danger of losing the vessel. To extricate themselves from such imminent peril they had recourse to the powerful intercession of the glorious Mother of God, the captain having ordered her statue to be brought upon deck and the *Salve Regina* to be sung, which, when the people had done, the darkness was broken and they soon found themselves in a bay at one of the islands, where they immediately anchored, rejoic-

ing that they had been so fortunate as to escape from so perilous a position.

A large number of the crew being now suffering from sickness, and the season of the equinoxes rapidly approaching, when navigation at that latitude was considered unsafe, the captain immediately quitted those waters, and arrived at the bay of St. Francis on the fourteenth September, where he remained for a month and a half recruiting the sick and adjusting the maps before returning to Lower California. Here they learned for the first time of the death of the viceroy, Bucarelli, which was the cause of universal regret, but to none more so than to the Fathers.

While the expedition, of which we are speaking, was absent, Fr. Junipero was applying himself with the zeal of an apostle at his mission of San Carlos, at Monterey, to the conversion of the people. His kind and gentle demeanor and engaging address soon drew large numbers of the gentiles to the mission. These he daily instructed for several hours by means of an interpreter, and before long had the happiness of receiving many of them into the Church. Recounting the Father's success at this time, his biographer says: "The number of Christians was largely increased, so that as soon as some became Christians, others hastened to ask for instruction." Indeed, so great was the disposition of the people to embrace the religion that the want of a sufficient knowledge of the language

seemed the only veritable obstacle in the way of the missionaries. Successful, however, though their exertions had been, Father Junipero's ardent desires for the promotion of the kingdom of God were only further increased. As long as any of the people remained to be converted he could not allow himself the smallest repose. He accordingly applied himself to the establishment of an additional mission between San Diego and San Gabriel, to be dedicated to St. John Capistrano. On the thirtieth of October the foundation of this mission was laid under very favorable auspices, great numbers of the natives being present and assisting in the erection of the necessary buildings. The joy this circumstance occasioned the Father was succeeded by a most unpleasant announcement of the murder of one of the Religious of San Carlos, and the attempted destruction of that mission. At the instigation of a couple of apostates the gentiles formed the resolution of attacking the Christians and destroying the establishment.

The plot was most carefully kept up to the moment of the attack. On the fourth of November the conspirators, to the number of one thousand or more, assembled at some distance from the mission, and having formed into two bodies, one for the destruction of the presidio and the other for that of the mission, they proceeded on their iniquitous errand. Arriving at the mission they immediately set to plundering the church and firing

the barracks. The noise and tumult immediately awoke the Religious, when one of them, Father Lewis, rushed incautiously out with the view of appeasing the mob, addressing them in the usual: "Amar a Dios Hijos"—"Love God, my children." Thereupon the infuriated people fell presently upon him, dragged him to some distance, and tearing off his garments dispatched him with arrows, clubs and stones. In their fury they so bruised and hacked his body that nothing remained whole but his consecrated hands. At the same time two of the Father's employees, a blacksmith and a carpenter, fell mortally wounded under the arrows of the enemy. The savages next directed their attention to the soldiers, but these defended themselves so valiantly that it was found necessary to burn them out. Dislodged from their original position, they took refuge in a little hut, where they nobly maintained themselves till morning, when the enemy retired from the contest, but not before burning and destroying everything save the place where the soldiers were entrenched.

Such was the deplorable fate of the first mission founded in Upper California, five years after its establishment; but not even this, though disheartening, was enough to discourage the Fathers in the prosecution of their charitable work. The mission which was thus burned to the ground at the malevolent instigation of the apostates, they were ready to re-establish as soon as arrangements could

be made; and they felt assured that the blood of their martyred companions would appeal in their behalf and serve as a propitiation before God for the conversion of the people. In this they judged not amiss, as the sequel will show.

It is here only just to remark that the neophytes at the mission took no part with the savages in their attack upon the Fathers. According to their statements they had been obliged, under the penalty of death, to remain in their huts during the engagement, and so, however willing they might have been to bring aid to the Religious, they were thus necessitated to remain silent and passive spectators of a scene of which they did not only not approve, but even abhorred. In this they probably stated the truth, for it is only reasonable to suppose that under the circumstances the presence of so many of the gentiles would have awed them into silence and submission. Upon the withdrawal of the gentiles the Christians went out for the purpose of recovering the body of the Father, which they found on the bank of a stream, but so altered and disfigured that it was with difficulty they recognized it as his. Pierced with innumerable arrows and otherwise exhibiting marks of the greatest violence from stones, clubs and swords, the whole, from head to foot, was one continuous wound, and evidenced most clearly the rage and malice of his murderers. "It was recognized," says the historian, "to be the body of Father

Jaime from the marks of whiteness which in part it retained where not entirely covered with blood." It was immediately conveyed to the presidio, together with the body of the carpenter, where it was interred in the little chapel with all the honor and reverence due to a martyr. The garrison which was now joined by those of the mission of St. John of Capistrano, resolved to maintain themselves at the presidio till instructions should be received from the authorities. When news of the occurrence reached the Fathers at Monterey, Father Junipero, viewing it only in its results, as far as it was likely to affect the conversion of the people, exclaimed in the following words: "Thanks be to God, now the land has been watered, now the reduction of the people will be effected." As he could not immediately repair to the scene of the disorder, he lost no time in communicating with the missionaries and giving them instructions as to how they should act, while, at the same time, he informed the viceroy of the unhappy occurrence, and hoped he would exercise his clemency toward the offenders, as he had no doubt but the whole had originated with the great enemy of mankind, and as such was to be attributed more to the ignorance than to the malice of the people. He also expressed a hope that his excellency would take measures for the reconstruction of the missions in order that the evil one might not be able to succeed in his artifice against the religion, and to

avoid a repetition of such disasters he submitted the necessity of increasing the number of guards at the mission, the natural consequence of which would be the preservation of order, the speedier reduction of the people and the salvation of their immortal souls.

These representations he dispatched to Mexico by the hands of the commandant, Rivera, who sailed from Monterey on the sixteenth December, and arrived at San Gabriel, near San Carlos, the scene of the disaster, about the beginning of February. There he was accidentally joined by an expedition, commanded by Anza, on its way from Sonora to the port of St. Francis. Anza, having under his command a number of soldiers, proceeded immediately in company with the other commander to the aid of the Christians, with whom he remained for some time, inspiring them with confidence, and seeking out the offenders. But not seeing any further necessity for his presence, he continued his route, having taken the precaution of leaving a dozen of his men at the mission as a guard in case of an emergency. As soon as his excellency had heard of the unhappy occurrence, he wrote in the following trustful, encouraging manner to Father Junipero: "I cannot express to your reverence the sentiments with which the unhappy occurrence at the mission of San Diego and the tragic death of Father L. Zayrut, an account of which I have received from the commandant,

Don Rivera, and Moncada and Don Baptista Anza have inspired me. In all likelihood they would have been greater only for the opportune arrival of the last named, with the families destined for Monterey.

The arrangements which these officers have made for the security of San Diego, as well as for that of San Gabriel and San Luis, are prudent and such as were dictated in view of subsequent dangers. They have informed me of the apprehension of some of the malefactors, and encourage me to look for a return of tranquillity with the punishment of the guilty. I hope for the same, but as this attempt shows me how little is to be trusted either to the neophytes or the gentiles, I have given orders to Don Neve, governor of the peninsula, to recruit, if possible, five-and-twenty men, as a reinforcement demanded by Don Rivera.

“The arrival of the packet-boats the Prince and the San Carlos, which left for their destination on the tenth, current, will serve not a little to tranquillize the inhabitants, at the same time that they will facilitate the occupation of the port of St. Francis; and as there are some on board in the capacity of soldiers, I have ordered that they should remain at San Diego. Moreover, I have ordered the commissary of San Blas to raise some recruits without delay, and to forward them, with arms and ammunition to the governor.

“I am not unmindful of the other things, to which I will give effect as soon as an opportunity occurs; and I think that having offered this tribulation to God, you will not alter in anything your apostolic zeal, but rather trust to seeing ameliorated the constitution of these establishments, to which, no doubt, your reverence will contribute much, by animating the Fathers to confidence, on account of the presence of the troops.

“To F. Junipero Serra.” “BUCARELLI.”

The above was written by the viceroy before receiving Father Junipero's account, which, from some unaccountable accident, did not arrive at the same time as the dispatch from the commanders, Rivera and Anza. On the third of April, his excellency wrote again in answer to the Father's communication, acquainting him with the steps he had taken for the safety of the missions, and of which he had already informed him in his letter of March. “All which,” he continues, “I make known to your reverence for your comfort and consolation, hoping that by your apostolic zeal you will render effective my arrangements, being assured that, on my part, I am ready to grant all possible aid to the missions, which have hitherto been so advantageous.”

From the moment the account of the revolt reached Monterey, Father Junipero was impatient to visit the scene of the disaster, but was unwillingly detained on account of the departure of the

commandant till the thirtieth of April, when, in company with one of his Religious, he sailed for the Mission. To re-establish the settlement, and once more present an opportunity to the people for accepting the faith was the chief object of his wishes; but as this could not be effected without aid, he applied for the services of the sailors then in the port, to assist him in rebuilding the dwellings. His petition met with a most generous response, and immediately a number of volunteers were on their way to re-establish the buildings destroyed by the savages. The work was begun with the most generous sentiments on the part of the volunteers. The rapid and satisfactory progress that was being made, was an evidence that the buildings would be quickly completed and everything ready for the reception of the Fathers; but even here the Religious were doomed to disappointment. The old enemy of mankind could not bear to see them encroaching on his domain; and when he could not make use of the natives to attack them (for they had all retired into the mountains), he adopted another equally effective means for frustrating their efforts. A report had got abroad, though on what grounds it would be difficult to say, that the Christians were in danger; that the natives were returning in overwhelming numbers to attack and destroy them. The fervid imaginations of some were ready to picture the most awful and deplorable consequences. A little later, and un-

less precautions were taken, all would be cruelly massacred; the attack, in the first instance, was only a skirmish compared to what this was certain to be. Disappointment at being thwarted in their designs on the Christians, and revenge for the loss of their companions killed in the engagement, were sure to urge them to the greatest excesses, and the utter destruction of the foreigners. Although these were not the sentiments of the majority, yet they appeared to be participated in by a considerable number, and by none more so than the commander himself, who, under the circumstances, deemed it advisable to call all under his command within the presidio. This, it need hardly be said, was the cause of the greatest affliction to Father Junipero, the more so as he was aware that the reports were unfounded, and the fears of the commander entirely illusory; but, as the order was given, he had to retire like the rest, and to abandon for the moment the re-establishment of the mission. One-and-twenty days subsequent, upon the arrival of reinforcements from Lower California, he was again enabled to resume operations, which he was not slow in bringing to a happy termination, and then the work of conversion was again taken up.

Tranquillity being thus restored, the Father returned to Monterey, preparatory to setting out for the establishment of the mission of St. Francis. On his way he visited the missions of San Gabriel,

San Luis and San Antonio, finding much consolation both in the temporal and spiritual progress thereof. During his visit to Mexico, one of the things urged by him most earnestly on his excellency the viceroy, was the immediate establishment of the projected missions to St. Francis and St. Clare. The chief obstacle then in the way of the project was the difficulty of finding the requisite number of troops, and of transporting them to their place of destination. To this end the commandant Anza was sent, as we have seen, to open a communication between Sonora and Monterey, and in a second expedition, as has been also observed, conveyed a number of families to the same destination, with the view of transporting them ultimately to the bay of St. Francis, the site of the contemplated missions. According to his instructions, he was to leave the emigrants and cattle at Monterey, and proceed first to examine and register the bay. This he carefully performed, and returned about the middle of September.

Nine months after his return from the examination of the place, the expedition set out by land for the establishment of the mission of St. Francis. It was composed of the commandant, Don Joseph Marajo, a sergeant and sixteen soldiers, seven colonists, and several servants and followers. The soldiers and colonists were married men of large families. There were four missionaries—Fathers Francis Murguia and Thomas de la Pena, destined

for the mission of Santa Clara, and Fathers Benito Campon and Palou, the biographer of Junipero, for San Francisco. On the twenty-seventh of June, they arrived in the vicinity of the bay, on the borders of a little lake, afterward known as the "Washerwoman's Lagoon." Here they encamped, and determined to await the arrival of the vessel, with the necessary provisions, before beginning the establishment of the mission. The following day, the feast of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, they erected a little altar and celebrated the holy sacrifice of the mass, which the reader must not take for the first ever offered in San Francisco; for, as has been previously remarked, the other expeditions that touched at this port were accompanied by missionaries. While waiting for the arrival of the vessel with the stores, they occupied themselves in examining the bay and visiting the natives at their respective rancherias, by whom they were favorably received, and given to understand that their arrival was pleasing to all. The natives even returned their visits and made them presents of several trifles, which were gratefully accepted, and a proper return made of a different kind. Some time having now elapsed and the vessel not appearing, they applied themselves to the cutting and preparing of timber for the establishment of the presidio and mission. At length, on the eighteenth of August, the store-ship arrived, having been detained on the voyage by con-

trary winds. The establishment of the presidio was commenced a month later, on the seventeenth of September, the feast of the Stigmas of St. Francis. The ceremonies were of the customary kind, *i. e.* the blessing and planting of the cross, a missa cantata, Te Deum, etc. The foundation of the mission was delayed a little longer, till the order of the commandant, Rivera, should arrive. This interval they employed in surveying the harbor, which resulted in the knowledge of there being no other outlet except that by which they had entered. In fine, on the ninth of October, 1776, having blessed the place and erected the holy cross, they took formal possession of the mission, and began the work of conversion. None of the gentiles, it appears, were present on this occasion, having to fly from a neighboring tribe, named the Salsonas, who happened to attack them at that moment. This naturally interfered for a while with the labors of the Religious, for the natives did not return for several months, and it was not till the feast of St. John of the following year that they were enabled to celebrate their first baptism. Once, however, a beginning was made, the numbers steadily increased, till before many years they had converted as many as four hundred.

CHAPTER IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MISSION OF SANTA CLARA. — FATHER JUNIPERO OBTAINS POWER TO ADMINISTER CONFIRMATION. — DEATH OF FATHER CRESPI. — ESTABLISHMENT OF TWO MISSIONS ON THE COLORADO. — THEIR DESTRUCTION. — MARTYRDOM OF TWO RELIGIOUS. — REMARKABLE VISION. — DEATH OF FATHER JUNIPERO. — STATE OF THE MISSIONS IN 1802. — TREATMENT OF MEXICO BY SPAIN. — REVOLUTION IN MEXICO. — GOVERNOR ECHANDIA.

HAVING founded, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, the mission and presidio of St. Francis, the Fathers next directed their attention to the establishment of that of St. Clare. St. Clare or Santa Clara, distant about sixty miles from San Francisco, was the most favorably located of all the missions, being situated in the rich, extensive plains of San Bernardino, since turned to such account by the American settlers. Here the party arrived about the beginning of January, and on the twelfth of the same month, 1777, the holy sacrifice of the Mass was offered up for the first time by Father Thomas de la Pena. The Fathers' first endeavors at this mission were not without their important results. Shortly after their arrival, a great epidemic happening to break out among the children, to which numbers succumbed, the Fathers, by administering to them the holy sacrament of baptism, to which the parents do not seem to have objected,

obtained the salvation of many. And it is to the prayers of these little ones before the throne of the Almighty, that, in all probability, the future rapid success of this mission is to be attributed; the number of whose converts soon amounted to close on seven hundred. The people in this particular locality differed but little, if anything, from those of the Bay. Their language, customs, habits and means of subsistence were almost alike. The acorns, of which there was a great abundance, and the seeds of the wild herbs, formed their chief means of support. Their social state, like that of their neighbors, was marked by one most shameful and unnatural custom. As has been remarked, when speaking of the character and customs of the natives in general, it was usual for some of the males, in order to lead more dissolute lives, to assume the dress and appearance of females, and to associate exclusively with them. These unhappy unfortunates, who were named Goyas and regarded as outcasts even by their own, had all the privileges of the married, but on condition of lending themselves to the gratification of the depraved lusts of their male companions. It is true they were never very numerous, not exceeding a couple or three in each of the tribes, except in the district of Santa Barbara, where this unnatural, sodomitical custom prevailed to a considerable extent. In every instance the Fathers eventually succeeded in abolishing the odious and reprehensible prac-

tice. Shortly after the establishment of the mission of which we are speaking, on the occasion of a great number of the gentiles presenting themselves at the mission, an instance of this nature was brought under the notice of the Religious, when they had the offender immediately arrested, divested of his female attire, and made to conform to general usage, that of our first parents in paradise. Another instance of this, but of a somewhat different character, was also discovered, wherein the parties cohabited as married, but by the exertions of the Fathers they were expelled the locality.

One of the means contemplated by government for obtaining a permanent hold on the country, was, as we have seen, the establishment of Mexican colonies in different parts of the country. These; while they offered a protection to the missionaries, and gave a pledge of security against any hostile attacks on the part of the savages, were also likely to be of advantage to government, as tending to form a white population, which, in time, might outnumber the natives. It was to this end that the families spoken of above as having been conducted by Anza from Sonora were intended. The country in the immediate vicinity of Santa Clara being peculiarly adapted to such a purpose, the colonists formed a settlement there on the first of November, 1777. They were governed by an alcalde or magistrate, and subject to the governor of the province. Although the lands at their dis-

posals were fertile and extensive, they do not appear to have turned them to very great profit. Their chief and only ambition seems to have been to provide sufficient to answer their ordinary wants. Wheat, maize and beans were their usual crops. This happy spirit of contentment with the ordinary necessities of life still characterizes their descendants; for, while the American settlers are ever employed in devising measures for increasing their wealth, and advancing their general interests, the Spanish descendants of the early arrivals, on the other hand, are remarkable for the opposite characteristic, being only ambitious of possessing a sufficiency for their every-day wants.

On taking possession of the missions of Lower California in 1668, Father Junipero learned that in consideration of the difficulty of visiting the missions his Holiness, Benedict XIV., of illustrious memory, had conferred on the Fathers the privilege of administering the holy sacrament of confirmation. As the same difficulty and necessity still existed, the Father President, in order that the Christians might not be deprived of such a singular blessing, wrote to his superiors in Mexico, requesting them to apply to the sovereign Pontiff for a like faculty for his brethren. The application was made and favorably received by the then reigning Pope, Clement XIV., who, for the reasons alleged, granted the same faculty for a period of ten years to the president of the missions, and

four others to be nominated by him. Immediately on receiving this power, Father Junipero lost no time in exercising it in behalf of his people. On the twenty-fifth of August, 1778, after administering the sacred rite to those prepared for it at his mission of Monterey, he proceeded to the south, where he remained actively engaged till January of the following year, when he returned to San Carlos. Here he occupied himself in instructing and baptizing the neophytes, feeling happy that the work of the missions was advancing as steadily and satisfactorily as could be reasonably expected ; but this happiness, so natural in his case, was presently embittered, for at this time he was made acquainted of the appointment, by the supreme council of Mexico, of the chevalier de Croix as commandant and captain-general of the Californias. De Croix was of all others the last man the Fathers would like to see appointed ; he was entirely a different person from Bucarelli, for, although he affected to be in the interests of the missionaries, and desirous of promoting the cause of religion, he showed by his acts how unreal were his assertions. Amongst other impediments, which at the outset he threw in their way, may be mentioned that of preventing Father Junipero from exercising the faculty of confirming. On the plea that the brief bestowing the privilege of confirming had not received the sanction of the government authorities, though in

reality it had been submitted to and received the approval of the royal council of Madrid and the sanction of the authorities at Mexico, he prohibited the Father using it further till an order should be received to that effect from the viceroy. No amount of reasoning or explanation could move him from his purpose, and so the Father had to submit to an order as capricious as unjust. The matter being finally referred to his excellency, instructions were received not to interfere with the president of the missions in the exercise of his duty, and even to grant him every facility for the discharge of his ministry.

During the time that the decision was pending, Father Junipero, in obedience to the order of the commandant, carefully abstained from exercising his right to confirm. He did not even make any visits to the other missions, but occupied himself exclusively in instructing his flock at San Carlos. The decision was received in the month of September, 1781, when he resumed the exercise of his faculties, which should never have been suspended or even questioned, by the governor. After confirming those prepared at the missions of San Carlos and San Antonio, Father Junipero set out for the purpose of visiting the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara. This was not the first time he had been to these establishments, for shortly after their foundation he had paid them a visit. He was accompanied on the journey by his

friend and disciple, Father Crespi, who was desirous of seeing the progress that religion was making in these parts. This was in the year 1781, and they arrived at the bay on the twenty-sixth of October, where they remained till the ninth of November. During this time Father Junipero administered the sacrament of confirmation to all who had been converted since his previous visit, as also to those of the mission of St. Clare. The Father President was now destined to undergo a loss which could not be readily repaired. While returning to San Carlos, a few days before arriving at home, his venerable friend and companion, Father Crespi, fell ill. We are not told what was the character of his sickness, but from the beginning it appears he had a presentiment of his speedy dissolution. Feeling that the hand of death was upon him he prepared himself with much fervor for the reception of the last sacrament, and with great confidence and love of God, resigned his soul into the hands of his Creator, on the first of January, 1782, being then in the sixty-first year of his age, and the thirtieth of his missionary career. The first sixteen years of his life were spent among the poor Indians of the Sierra Gorda, where he succeeded in converting and civilizing several hundred of the people. The remaining part of his missionary career was in California, where his virtues and labors for the salvation of the natives obtained him the esteem and

admiration of all. It was the opinion of those who were best acquainted with his virtues that, at the moment of death, his blessed soul passed immediately to the enjoyment of the beatific vision of God in the kingdom of Heaven. He was buried in the church of San Carlos at Monterey, in the company of two of his former companions.

For some time it had been an object of earnest consideration with Father Junipero to establish additional missions in the country immediately opposite the channel of Santa Barbara, between San Diego and Monterey. The great importance and necessity of this he pointed out to the commandant, without whose permission he was unable to act. De Croix, seeing the advantage of such a scheme to the government, in a political sense, gave his consent, and issued orders to the proper authorities for the establishment of a presidio and three missions, as desired by the Father. The presidio and one mission were to occupy the centre, immediately opposite the channel, while the others were to be at either extremity. Each mission was to have a guard of fifteen soldiers. It was also recommended to form a pueblo entitled Our Lady of the Angels, *i.e.*, Los Angeles.

The commandant likewise sent instructions to the superiors of the college of Queretaro to establish two missions on the banks of the Colorado, for the double purpose of effecting the conversion of the gentiles, and of maintaining secure commu-

nication with California and Sonora. These missions, however, were to be placed upon an entirely different footing from those of California. Eight soldiers, and as many colonists with their families for each, was to be their only protection. The existence of a presidio was not considered necessary. The treatment of the neophytes, too, was to be on a different plan; for, after their conversion they were to remain in their respective rancherias and obtain their subsistence, like their gentile companions, by fishing, hunting and the like. Such was the project of the commandant, and it is not difficult to see that it was wanting in the first requirement for securing success. No one having a proper idea of how missionary work was to be effected would have conceived such a plan. Association, in the first place, with the gentile population, and freedom from the control of the Fathers, in the second, were certain to be attended by the most unfavorable results; while the necessity of providing for their ordinary wants in the manner hitherto followed, was calculated to act as a barrier to their enlightenment and civilization. The project, however, was tried, and not only failed in its primary object, but resulted, unhappily, in the death of most of the Christians. Immediately after the establishment of the two missions, the Indians fell upon the settlers, burned everything to be found, massacred the four Fathers and most of their people. The Religious martyred

on the occasion were Fathers John Diaz, Mathew Moreno, Francis Garces and John Barranoche. The hostility of the natives was not without cause: it was to be attributed to the encroachment made on their grounds by the colonists. The cattle belonging to the Christians, by feeding on the herbs, deprived the inhabitants of one of their chief means of support. The colonists, too, had also appropriated certain patches of ground turned to much account by the people for the production of cereals. The natives seeing themselves thus deprived of their inheritance, which to them was of the highest importance, naturally conceived a bitter antipathy against the Europeans, and ultimately resolved to get rid of them entirely. Nothing was known of the plot by the soldiers or colonists until the moment of the occurrence, but it would seem that the Fathers had feared for the consequences, and had been exhorting the Christians for some time to be prepared for the worst. On a certain Sunday morning, after the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the mass, while everything seemed tranquil, the storm suddenly burst over their heads. Great bodies of gentiles, from different quarters, armed with clubs, staves, and arrows, and amid great noise and clamor, fell precipitately upon the mission, and immediately murdered the commandant, a sergeant, the soldiers, and all the colonists except two, who by concealment managed to effect their escape. The suddenness of the attack, and

their overwhelming numbers, left no chance to the Christians to offer any effectual resistance. Had they even been forewarned, they may not have been able, under the circumstances, to have made a successful defence. The barbarity and atrocity performed on the occasion a lively imagination can readily picture for itself; a savage, excited multitude, in the hour of victory, knows no bounds—observes no moderation. Sacrilege followed in the steps of murder—the little church was presently fired, and the sacred ornaments and utensils given to the flames. The passions of the multitude were for the moment at their highest, and, wild with excitement, they rushed hither and thither, destroying the goods of the Christians, burning their dwellings, and insulting their remains. The only thing remarkable is that they did not burn their bodies with their effects.

The women and children they retained, but the Fathers shared the fate of their companions and fell victims to the rage of the gentiles, while confessing and exhorting their own to die for the cause of religion. One of the soldiers who happened to escape managed to make his way to the presidio of Sonora, where he informed the authorities of the unhappy occurrence. A body of troops was immediately despatched with orders to rescue the captives and to punish the leaders. The captain of this party, Signor Tajés, on arriving at the locality, found everything as had been related—

the mission in ruins, the bodies of the Christians scattered around, and everything indicative of the greatest atrocities. His first care was to order the interment of the dead, but the remains of the Fathers he had placed in a coffin and conveyed to Sonora. Thence the party passed to the site of the second mission, where they found everything as at the first, with the exception of the Fathers' remains. And as one of these missionaries—Father Garces—was well known and esteemed by the Indians, having lived a long time in the country, they were ready to hope that his life might have been spared, but in this they were mistaken. The Almighty would not deprive him of the honor and merit of shedding his blood in testimony of the faith, and that his death was most acceptable to the Lord, the following would seem to be evidence: While the soldiers were in search of the bodies their attention was attracted to a little spot strangely contrasting with everything around, it being covered with verdure and a great variety of flowers, amongst which the marigold was conspicuous. The singularity of the thing, no other spot presenting a like appearance, caused the captain to reflect and to believe that it might be a testimony on the part of the Almighty to the virtue and presence of the martyrs' remains. He accordingly ordered the spot to be dug, where, to the joy and surprise of the party, the bodies of the Religious were discovered, clad in the *hair cloths*

which they were accustomed to wear during life. From information afterwards obtained it appears that they had been interred by a gentile who had known them during life and esteemed them exceedingly, but whether he had acted from motives of natural affection or was inspired by the Almighty to render this service to the bodies of his servants, I leave to the reader to determine. The verdure and flowers on their grave, which, during the short time that elapsed since their death, could not be the result of any natural process, were an evidence of their sanctity—a miraculous proof of their holiness. These bodies, also, the captain had carefully removed and conveyed to Sonora.

The commandant next directed his attention to the rescue of the captives, which he effected, though not without difficulty, as the savages had fled from that part of the country in consequence of a singular phenomenon which they had witnessed after the massacre of the Christians, and which had caused them the greatest alarm. It appears that the night following the massacre the gentiles, as well as those of the Christians who had been spared, were astonished at beholding a beautiful procession of persons clothed in white with burning lamps in their hands and before them a cross surrounded with lights. They appeared directing their movements towards the site of the mission, singing at the same time a canticle of praise. After a time the whole disappeared, but was repeated

on the subsequent night, and continued regularly to appear in the same manner, until the savages became so alarmed that they abandoned that part of the country, and withdrew to a very considerable distance.

The failure of the missions on the banks of the Colorado now left the governor at leisure to attend to those of the channel of Santa Barbara. The deplorable consequences which resulted from the plan on which the lately destroyed missions were established, ought to have disabused the civil authorities of the feasibility of ever attempting a like system in future. But, inasmuch as the governor was actuated neither by motives of justice nor humanity, he would still experiment on the lives of the Religious. In this, however, the Fathers were unwilling to join him; for upon learning the footing on which the missions were to be established, they immediately wrote to their ecclesiastical superior excusing themselves from taking charge, and stating their reasons. The grounds on which they declined were the following, which to every reasonable mind must appear ample. The conversion of the people, in the first place, was not to be expected but through motives of self-interest. Something should be first offered them in order to conciliate their affections and to gain their good-will. Thus they could the more easily be led to a knowledge and acceptance of religion. On the other hand, if the missionaries had nothing

to offer, the people would ever remain estranged from their interests, and indifferent to their doctrine, while if permitted after baptism to live in their respective rancherias, naked and starving like their gentile companions, it could not be expected they would be advanced either in faith, morals or civilization—the great objects for which their conversion was sought. The consequence of this refusal was the suspension for the time of the establishment of the contemplated missions, a circumstance which exceedingly afflicted the Father, though it did not disturb his tranquility of mind, for, as was his custom, he accepted it as a trial sent to him by God, and as such readily conformed to the Divine will.

The time was now drawing near when this venerable man, Father Junipero, was to be called to receive the reward of his labors in the kingdom of Heaven. For several years he had been suffering from an affection of the chest, which may have been produced, but was certainly increased by his extraordinary penance and mortification. The better to move his hearers to sorrow and compunction for their transgressions, he was accustomed, when preaching, to make use of a scourge, in imitation of St. Francis of Solano. The strength and violence with which he beat himself in the presence of the people was a most powerful argument in his denunciation of vice, and doubtless an infallible means of obtaining for sinners the grace of

conversion. On other occasions, he would carry with him into the pulpit and use for a like purpose a large stone, with which he struck himself so unmercifully on the breast, that the audience oftentimes thought he would die in the act. But the most painful, as it must have been the most dangerous, was that of applying a light to his bosom, when preaching on the torments of hell, regardless of the torture which such a proceeding must necessarily have caused him. In a word, this truly venerable and apostolic man left nothing undone to awaken in the minds of his hearers a just and adequate idea of the horror and deformity of sin.

Although suffering very much at this time from the infirmity specified, he set out for the last time to visit the northern missions. On the fourth of April, he arrived at the port of St. Francis, and while there, was informed of the serious illness of one of the Fathers of the neighboring mission of St. Clare. The illness of this Father and his death shortly after, were a forewarning to himself of his own speedy dissolution; and thus indeed he regarded the matter, for he immediately took measures to prepare for his own death. His acts of preparation consisted of a spiritual retreat and a general confession, which he made with the greatest compunction and an abundance of tears. This attention, however, to his own spiritual wants, did not in any way interfere with the due discharge of

his ministry in behalf of the people; but as soon as he had administered the sacrament of confirmation to all who stood in need of it, he immediately returned to his mission of San Carlos, there to enter upon a more immediate preparation for his final dissolution. Nor of this could there be now any reasonable doubt, for it was manifest to all that the hand of death was unmistakably upon him. The weight of his years—his utterly shattered constitution, added to his peculiar disease, left no hope to his friends of his ultimate recovery; but in death as in life, he proved himself the faithful servant of God, accepting with much cheerfulness and resignation the divine will in his regard.

From the tenth of August, 1784, when he returned to Monterey, he sank rapidly till the twenty-eighth of the same month (the feast of St. Augustine), when, after receiving the last rites of our holy religion, he calmly expired, being then in the seventy-first year of his life, half of which he spent in the apostolic ministry, between the missions of Sierra Gorda and the Californias. "He ended his laborious life," says Father Palou, "at the age of seventy years nine months and four days, after having passed fifty-three years eleven months and thirteen days in religion, and thirty-five years four months and thirteen days in the apostolic ministry, during which time he performed the glorious actions we have seen. He lived in continual activity, occupied in virtuous



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View of the Port of Monterey in 1842.

and holy exercises and wonderful exertions, all directed to the greater honor and glory of God, and the salvation of souls." At the moment of his death he had the consolation to know that in the eight missions established in Upper California, as many as five thousand eight hundred persons had been brought to a knowledge of the faith. These, added to those of Lower California, would make the entire number of converts close on seven thousand, while the establishment of six colonies of Spaniards in different parts of the country, should be also set down as the result of his labors.

The very rare and extraordinary virtues practiced by this remarkable man during the greater part of his life, made him be regarded by all as a person of the most eminent sanctity. It was, indeed, the common opinion of all that at the moment of death his soul passed immediately to the kingdom of Heaven, and the remarkable cures effected at the time would seem to be an evidence of this. A couple will suffice. Amongst others who obtained from the Fathers some memorial of the illustrious dead, was a certain Don Juan Garcia, one of the royal physicians, who had been intimately acquainted with him during life, and had the very highest esteem for his virtue. This virtuous man, having been called upon shortly after to attend one of his patients, suffering from a grievous pain in the head, merely attached the little relic he had received to the suffering part, when pres-

ently the patient fell into an agreeable slumber, and afterwards awoke perfectly cured. Again: one of the Religious, Father Antonio Paterna, in consequence of having traveled a great distance during the great heat of the day, was seized with very violent pains. So critical was his state that the doctor had little hopes of his recovery, and he was making preparations for his death; but at this stage it was suggested to clothe him in the hair shirt of the Father, which, when effected, to the great joy and astonishment of all, he was presently relieved. But it is not merely in instances of this nature, however numerous or convincing, that we find an evidence of the sanctity of the man, but more especially in the advancement of the missionary work after his death, which we can hardly otherwise regard than as the effect of his prayers. While yet in existence, shortly before being called to his everlasting reward, he promised the Fathers to use his influence before God for the salvation of that people. That he was not unmindful of his promise, and that his prayers were most acceptable to God, the following extract from a letter written shortly after by Father Paul Mugartegui, of the mission of San Juan Capistrano, may be taken as evidence: "I assure you we thank God, for we have already seen accomplished the promise of our very Rev. Father President, Father Junipero, for *in these four last months* we have baptized more gentiles than in the three last years; and we attribute these conversions to the interces-

sion of our venerable Father Junipero, who will continue praying God as he has incessantly prayed during life. And we piously believe that he is now in the enjoyment of God, and that he will beseech him with more fervor; and it was doubtless in his behalf that so many conversions have been effected within the last four months. The converts are persons who have come from a great distance, and speak a different language from those of the mission. * * * And seeing that they have come from such a great distance to ask for baptism, we piously believe them to have been moved by a secret impulse, and that the Lord God of all mercy and consolation had drawn them, in order to console us for the loss which we sustained in the death of our Father." The same, to a great extent, might be said with equal truth of the other missions; for we find that in the four months which elapsed after his death, as many as nine hundred and thirty-six converts were made, and so the good work continued to advance until the entire country, with few exceptions, was brought to a knowledge of the truth, as we shall continue to show.

From the death of Father Junipero in 1784 to 1824, when the last of the Californian missions was established, under the title of St. Francis of Solano, the progress of religion was in every way as satisfactory as could be expected. The noble and generous spirit which actuated the first president of the missions, descended to his successor,

and was shared in by his brethren in general. Though there is no historical record of the labors of the Fathers later than this, sufficient is learned from their unpublished correspondence to show that their lives were far from inactive, and that their labors were everywhere crowned with success. Three years after the demise of the first president, the missions of Santa Barbara and La Purissima Conception were founded. These were speedily followed by others, till, at the beginning of the present century, the great majority of the gentiles were brought to a knowledge of God.

The following tabular statement, drawn up in 1802, will show the progress of the missions up to that date:

Foundation.	Missions.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1769	San Diego.....	737	822	1559
1770	San Carlos	376	312	688
1771	San Gabriel.....	532	515	1047
1771	San Antonio.....	568	484	1052
1772	San Luis Obispo...	374	325	699
1776	San Juan Capistrano	502	511	1013
1777	Santa Clara.....	736	555	1291
1779	San Francisco.....	433	381	814
1782	Santa Buenaventura.	436	502	938
1786	Santa Barbara.....	521	572	1093
1787	La P. Conception..	457	571	1028
1791	La Soledad... ..	296	267	563
1794	Santa Cruz.....	238	199	437
1797	San Juan Bautista..	530	428	958
1797	San José.....	327	295	622
1797	San Miguel.....	309	305	614
1797	San Fernando.....	317	297	614
1798	San Luis Rey.....	256	276	532
	Total.....	7945	7617	15562

If to the above be added the united congregations of Lower California, which at this period may be estimated at eight thousand, there will then be a total of twenty-three thousand five hundred and sixty-two native Christians in both Californias at the beginning of the present century. This in a country but sparsely inhabited, and presenting so many and such natural difficulties, is certainly one of the most remarkable results of missionary zeal to be met with in the annals of modern times. Other instances, it is true, may be pointed to in the past of much larger numbers having been brought to a knowledge of the truth within a more limited time, but certainly none where the inhabitants were as savage and the physical difficulties as great. Faithful to the great cause on which they had embarked, these noble, self-sacrificing heralds of the gospel advanced steadily and surely in the spiritual conquest of the country, until the entire people, with the exception of a few wandering tribes, had been taught the knowledge and worship of God. And even these, it is only just to suppose, would have been ultimately reclaimed from their barbarous state, and won over to Christ, had not the political events of which we shall presently speak interfered with the Fathers, and checked the progress of religion.

It is not unknown to the reader that the ancient kingdom of the Aztecs, conquered early in the six-

teenth century by Fernando Cortes, became a Spanish dependency, and was governed from 1535 to 1808 by a succession of viceroys, subject only to the court of Madrid. The policy pursued by these Spanish officials, whose conduct was regulated by their masters at home, was as injurious to the true interests of Spain as it was prejudicial to the well-being of the Mexican people. Influenced solely by a desire of advancing their own and their countrymen's interests, to the neglect of everything national, they farmed the offices of government, and placed in positions of trust and emolument such only as were of Spanish descent. The injustice of the administration was not even confined to this. The native inhabitants were not only excluded from all offices of trust, but measures were enacted whereby they were practically incapacitated from competing with their masters. The measures to which I refer, and which were so unworthy of the character of Spain as they were unjust to the Mexican race, were those by which everything beyond the most elementary training was prohibited that people; while, at the same time, the industry and material development of the country were hampered with the severest restrictions. For the furtherance of the same ruinous policy, the cultivation of several articles of native industry, as flax, the olive, the vine, and such like, was strictly prohibited by law, while a further statute declared it even illegal to engage in the

manufacture of any commodity capable of being supplied by the old country. As if to close every avenue of wealth to the people, it was for a time made a capital offence to engage in any foreign speculation. Under such unjust, degrading restrictions, it could not be supposed that the people would be either happy or loyal. Sedulously excluded from all offices of power and profit, shut out from the advantages of a liberal education, prohibited developing the natural resources of their country, and hampered and embarrassed in a thousand other different ways by the arbitrary will of a partial administration, they saw themselves helots and strangers in their own land. But as the power of their masters was firmly established, and entirely superior to theirs, they had only to await their deliverance with that calmness and resolution of men determined on gaining their freedom when the moment arrived.

The time for the accomplishment of this, seemed favorable upon the invasion of Spain by the French, in 1808. The then governing viceroy Don José Iturigaray, a man of liberal views, and very favorably disposed in behalf of the people, endeavored to form a provisional government composed partly of natives, and partly of Spaniards, but in this he was defeated by the Spanish inhabitants of the capital, who unwilling that any but their countrymen should have a voice in the government of the country, arrested his Excellency, and sent him a

prisoner to Spain. This, while it defeated for the time the aspirations of the people, gave rise to a powerful conspiracy, which a couple of years later in 1810, resulted in a general revolt, headed by a spirited national priest, Don Miguel Hidalgo. The object of the insurrection was not merely to deprive the Europeans of power, but to expel them the nation, and in their stead, to place the country under Mexican rule; a result apparently by no means improbable at the time, as Hidalgo was at the head of a powerful force, estimated at as many as one hundred thousand men. The fortunes of war, however, did not smile upon the efforts of the insurgents, for Hidalgo was taken, and his followers dispersed. The national cause next found a defender in Morelas, another priest, who in 1813 called a National Congress at Chilpanzingo, and on the thirteenth of October, declared Mexico independent. Morelas, too, was defeated, captured and executed as a rebel at Mexico on the twenty-second of December, 1815. From this till 1820, the national cause, though sustained in a kind of partisan war by the patriots Victoria, Guerrero, Bravo and others, was constantly losing ground before the ever increasing power of the foreigners. Driven from the field, killed, imprisoned or otherwise subdued, the last shadow of opposition had completely disappeared, when the news of the revolution at home, and the proclamation of the liberal constitution, by Fer-

dinand VII, again reanimated the hopes of the people, and encouraged them to a renewal of the contest. The leader and supporter of the popular cause in this instance was the remarkable Don Augustine Iturbide, afterward Emperor of the country under the title of Augustin I. Iturbide, who, though a Mexican, had been an officer of the royal army, and much distinguished as a loyalist during the previous disturbances, seeing the favorable moment, threw off his allegiance to government, put himself at the head of the revolutionary party and hastily proclaimed Mexico independent. His policy was not as those who had preceded him to place the country entirely in the hands of the people under Mexican rule, for in the constitution drawn up at the time the principal points were the recognition of the Catholic religion as the national creed, the abolition of distinctions founded on color, and the establishment of a constitutional monarchy, the crown to be offered in the first instance to Ferdinand, and in case of refusal, to the infantas Don Carlos and Don Francisco de Paula. The revolution was this time successful. In the course of a few months the whole country recognized the authority of the chief, the capital alone holding out, but this he eventually gained when he instituted a regency to which he himself was appointed. A little later, on the eighteenth of May, 1822, with the support of the army and mob, he was proclaimed Emperor under the title of Au-

gustin I., but unhappily for the country his reign was only ephemeral, for, before the end of a year, in an insurrection headed by Santa Anna, he was deprived of the throne and compelled to sign his abdication, which he did on the twentieth of March, 1823.

Then was formed a provisional government, composed of Victoria, Bravo and others, and a congress having been assembled, a constitution similar to that of the United States was agreed upon and promulgated, by which the country was formed into a republic of nineteen states and four territories. California not having the population requisite for constituting a State, was admitted into the Union only as a territory, and, as such, had a voice in the congress but no permission to vote. The office of commandant-general or governor of the country remained undisturbed as under the previous regime; the power and authority of the Fathers, too, remaining intact as before. Upon the success of the revolution being made known in California, the governor, Don Pablo de Sola, faithful to his oath of allegiance to Spain, refused to take office under the new administration, and immediately quitted the country with some of the royalist troops. Don Luiz Arguello, a Californian by birth, became governor in the interim. At the same time, Don José Noriega, conformable to the powers vested in the provincial deputation of selecting a person to represent the

wants of the country in parliament, was dispatched to the congress in Mexico; but, being a Spaniard, was rejected on account of his country. The following year (1824), Arguello, who had never been formally appointed, and was only acting *pro tem.*, was relieved by lieutenant-colonel Don José Maria Echandia, the first governor and political chief under the republic. Echandia was a man of very little foresight and less religion. Hardly had he been installed in his office, when he began to meddle with the affairs of the Church, and endeavored by every means in his power to deprive the Religious of the direction of the temporal affairs of the missions; but in this he was overruled for the time by his masters in Mexico.

CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS OF THE MISSIONS FROM 1802 TO 1822. — THE SECULARIZATION SCHEME CONTEMPLATED BY SPAIN. — RUSSIA FORMS SETTLEMENTS ON THE COAST. — DISORGANIZED STATE OF THE COUNTRY. — MEXICO INTERFERES WITH THE FATHERS. — RESULTS OF SUCH INTERFERENCE. — STATE OF THE COUNTRY AFTER. — STATISTICS. — ILL-TREATMENT OF THE CLERGY.

DURING the period of political troubles in Mexico, while the authority of Spain was more nominal than real, it could not be expected that Californian missionary interests would be unaffected thereby. What was being done at the capital was naturally felt in the provinces, the more so in this case as the funds for the establishment and progress of religion in the country were in the hands of the civil authorities, who, as occasion demanded, scrupled not to misappropriate and confiscate largely thereof. The interests of religion, indeed, it is true, were never paramount in the eyes of the Spanish authorities, yet as long as political troubles were unknown the rights of the Fathers were acknowledged and respected, but from the moment the struggle for independence took place the interests of religion were postponed to those of the State.

It will be within the recollection of the reader that at the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the

properties of which they were possessed and which were known under the title of the Pious Fund, were taken charge of by government and farmed for the use of the missions. These properties, which had been the donations of the Catholic faithful for the establishment and maintenance of Catholic missions in the country, yielded at that period an annual revenue of fifty thousand dollars, twenty-four thousand of which were expended in the stipend of the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, as we have said, and the other twenty-six thousand in mission purposes in general. The first inroad made on these pious donations was about the year 1806, when, to relieve the national wants of the parent country caused by the wars of 1801 and 1804, between Portugal in the one instance and Great Britain in the other, his majesty's fiscal at Mexico scrupled not to confiscate and remit to the authorities in Spain as much as two hundred thousand dollars of the Pious Fund. This, though a considerable sum as regarded the Californian missions, was but little in the eyes of a government, which, later on, in 1839, hesitated not to confiscate at home the whole of the ecclesiastical property to the amount of seventy-eight million dollars.

The Californian missionaries, having up to the present depended for their support and the maintenance of religion in general on the stipends paid them by government, were now for a time thrown

entirely on their own natural resources. Owing to the troubles caused by the insurrectionary movements of which Hidalgo and Morelas were the chiefs, the missionaries failed to receive any of their stipends from 1811 to 1813, and later on, from a similar cause, were deprived of their revenue from 1828 to 1831. At the same time that they were thus deprived of their annual salary and thrown on the resources of the country for their own and the natives support, they were also called upon to furnish supplies to the presidios, for which they were never indemnified. Notwithstanding the difficulties thus placed in the way of the missions, many of them being yet only in an infant condition, their spiritual and temporal interests still continued to be advanced by the zeal and ability of the Fathers. Nothing, indeed, demonstrates more fully and satisfactorily the success that attended the Fathers' exertions during the period of which we are now treating: than the following:

*State of the Missions of Upper California, from 1802
to 1822.*

Name of Mission.	Baptized.	Married.	Died.	Existing.
San Diego-----	5452	1460	3196	1697
San Luis Rey -----	4024	922	1507	2663
San Juan Capistrano--	3879	1026	2531	1052
Santa Catarina -----	6906	1638	4635	1593
San Fernando-----	2519	709	1505	1001
-----	3608	973	2608	973
Santa Barbara-----	4917	1288	3224	1010
-----	1195	330	897	582
Purissima Conception	3100	919	2173	764
San Luis Obispo ----	2562	715	1954	467
San Miguel-----	2205	632	1336	926
San Antonio de Padua	4119	1037	317	834
Our Lady of Soledad	1932	584	1333	532
San Carlos-----	3267	912	2432	341
San Juan Bautista ---	3270	823	1853	1222
Santa Cruz -----	2136	718	1541	499
Santa Clara-----	7324	2056	6565	1394
San José-----	4573	1376	2933	1620
San Francisco-----	6804	2050	5202	958
San Rafael-----	829	244	183	830
Total-----	74621	20412	19725	20958

This, it must be observed, does not include the missions of Lower California, which, in the absence of authentic statistics, if we set down at one half the above, we will then have the considerable number of over one hundred thousand baptized into the Christian religion in California from 1768 to 1822. A happier and more satisfactory result could not be reasonably expected from the labors of the Fathers in the time. No other instance is on record in modern days of so many being brought

to a knowledge of the truth in so limited a period. When, then, to the natural difficulties offered by the country we add those of the wild and uncultivated habits of the natives, the result of the missionaries' labors in this case will doubtless be regarded by all as one of the most remarkable and important recorded in history.

It will not have escaped the notice of the reader that the mortality among the converts was unusually large. From seventy to twenty thousand in the space of a couple of generations is a diminution of unparalleled magnitude. To what this unusually large death-rate should be attributed it might be difficult to say, nor could the Religious themselves assign a positive cause. Syphilis, measles and small-pox carried off numbers, and these diseases, were, in all probability generated by the sudden change in their lives from a free, wandering existence, to a quiet, settled, domestic state. The same had been previously experienced by the Jesuits in Lower California, where great numbers of the converts rapidly died.

The disposition shown toward the missionaries by the Spanish authorities at home during the time they were prosecuting the conversion and reduction of the country, were as impolitic and prejudicial to the true interests of the crown as they were unjust and embarrassing to them. In 1813, when the contest for national independence was being waged on Mexican territory, the

cortes of Spain resolved upon dispensing with the services of the Fathers, by placing the missions in the hands of the secular clergy. The professed object of this secularization scheme was, indeed, the welfare of the Indians and the colonists; but how little this accorded with the real intentions of government, is seen from the seventh section of the decree passed by the cortes, wherein it is stated that one half of the land was to be hypothecated for the payment of the national debt. The decree ordering this commences as follows: "The cortes general and extraordinary, considering that the reduction of common land to private property, is one of the measures most imperiously demanded for the welfare of the pueblos, and the improvement of agriculture and industry, and wishing at the same time to derive from this class of land *aid to relieve the public necessities*, a reward to the worthy defenders of the country and relief to the citizens not proprietors, decree, etc., * without prejudice to the foregoing provisions, one half of the vacant land and lands belonging to the royal patrimony of the monarchy, except the suburbs of the pueblos, is hereby reserved, to be in whole or in part, as may be deemed necessary, hypothecated for the *payment of the national debt*," etc.¹

This decree of the government was not carried out at the time, yet it had its effect on the state and well-being of the missions in general. It

(1) *Hist. Cal. Dwinelle*. (Addenda 41).

could not be expected that with such a resolution under their eyes, the Fathers would be as zealous in developing the natural resources of the country as before, seeing that the result of their labors was at any moment liable to be seized on by government and handed over to strangers. The insecurity thus created naturally acted upon the converts in turns, for when it became apparent that the authority of the missionaries was more nominal than real, a spirit of opposition and independence on the part of the people was the natural result. Even before this determination had been come to on the part of the government, there were not wanting evidences of an evil disposition on the part of some of the people; for as early as 1803, one of the missions had become the scene of a revolt; and earlier still, as we learn from an unpublished correspondence of the Fathers, it was not unusual for some of the converts to abandon the missions and return to their former wandering life. It was customary on those occasions to pursue the deserters and compel them to return. How far such a course was in harmony with the spirit of the gospel and the natural rights of man, viewed on general grounds it may not be easy to see; for conversion from paganism to Christianity is no reason why the liberty of man should be restrained; but when we take into account the true character and disposition of the natives, the course adopted by the Fathers does not appear so entirely unrea-

sonable. A people but newly converted from paganism and barbarism to Christianity and civilization, are yet in the capacity of children, and require to be treated as such, especially when their interests, both spiritual and temporal, are at stake. Had not an impediment been placed in their way, the probabilities are that many, though profiting by their condition, would, to avoid the inconvenience and irksomeness of labor, return to their former condition, and thereby deprive themselves of the blessings of civilization and of religion. By placing an obstacle, then, to this evil, the conduct of the Fathers does not appear to us either unreasonable or cruel.

From the very beginning of the missions, instances of this kind had occurred; nor, indeed, could it be expected to be otherwise; for from among so many thousands but recently reclaimed, there must have been the intractable and self-willed, whose natural tendencies would ever be sure to incline them to their former wandering state. The greatest matter for astonishment, is that the missionaries were enabled to induce so many to renounce their savage condition, and submit to the labors and duties imposed on them at the missions.

Between 1813 and 1825, the general aspect of affairs in California, though satisfactory as regarded the existing state of affairs, was not over encouraging, when viewed in relation to the future. Tak-

ing advantage of the disturbed state of affairs amongst the Mexican people, the Russians had already made a settlement on the coast, at Bodega. Subsequently, about 1820, they formed another at Ross, thirty miles further to the north. The object of these settlements, though ostensibly for fishing and agricultural purposes, were not without their more important designs, and as such were looked upon with suspicion by the Spanish authorities. At the same time, some American vessels appeared off the coast, with what intent it was not difficult to determine. Meantime, the internal state of the missions was becoming more and more complex and disordered. The desertions were more frequent and numerous, the hostility of the unconverted more daring, and the general disposition of the people inclined to revolt. American traders and freebooters had entered the country, spread themselves all over the province, and sowed the seeds of discord and revolt among the inhabitants. Many of the more reckless and evil-minded readily listened to their suggestions, adopted their counsels, and broke out into open hostilities. Their hostile attack was first directed against the mission of Santa Cruz, which they captured and plundered; when they directed their course to Monterey, and, in common with their American friends, attacked and plundered that place. From these and other like occurrences, it was clear that the condition of the missions was

one of the greatest peril. The spirit of discord had spread among the people, hostility to the authority of the Fathers had become common, while desertion from the villages was of frequent and almost constant occurrence. To remedy this unpleasant state of affairs, the military then in the country were entirely inadequate, and so matters continued, with little or no difference, till 1824, when, by the action of the Mexican government, the missions began rapidly to decline.

Two years after Mexico had been formed into a republic, the government authorities began to interfere with the rights of the Fathers and the existing state of affairs. In 1826, instructions were forwarded by the federal government to the authorities in California for the liberation of the Indians. This was followed a few years later by another act of the legislature, ordering the whole of the missions to be secularized and the Religious to withdraw.¹ The ostensible object assigned by the authors of this measure, was the execution of the original plan formed by government. The missions, it was alleged, were never intended to be permanent establishments; they were to give way in the course of some years to the regular ecclesiastical system, when the people would be formed into parishes, attended by a secular clergy. Even admitting this to be true, it is still beyond doubt that the motives which urged the change at a time

(1) See Decree of Congress, at end of vol.

when the country was entirely unprepared for the measure, were other than those assigned by the legislature. "Beneath these specious pretexts," says Dwinelle in his *Colonial History*, "was, undoubtedly, a perfect understanding between the government at Mexico and the leading men in California, that in such a condition of things the supreme government might absorb the pious fund, under the pretence that it was no longer necessary for missionary purposes, and thus had reverted to the State as a *quasi* escheat; while the co-actors in California should appropriate the local wealth of the missions, by the rapid and sure process of administering their temporalities." And again: "These laws (the secularization laws), whose ostensible purpose was to convert the missionary establishments into Indian pueblos, their churches into parish churches, and to elevate the christianized Indians to the rank of citizens were, after all, executed in such a manner that the so-called secularization of the missions *resulted only in their plunder* and complete ruin, and in the demoralization and dispersion of the christianized Indians." ¹

Coming, as this testimony does, from a neutral party, who could have no object in misconstruing the real intentions of government, it shows more clearly than anything else the motives that urged the secularization of the missions. Immediately

(1) See *Colonial Hist.*, Dwinelle.

on receiving the decree of the government, the then acting governor of California, Don José Figueroa, applied himself to the carrying out of its provisions. To this end he had prepared and approved by the legislature certain provisional rules, in accordance with which the alteration in the missionary system was begun.¹ From that moment commenced the utter and absolute ruin of the missions and the country. The long feared and destructive blow had fallen at last. Within a very brief period the happy and satisfactory results of the Fathers' exertions were completely destroyed. The lands, which for years under their care had teemed with abundance, were now handed over to the Indians, only to be neglected and permitted to run into their primitive wild, uncultivated condition. The cattle, of which there were thousands, were also partly divided among the people, and partly among the administrators, for their own personal profit.

It is now proper to examine into the results produced by this action of congress touching the change in the social and religious condition of the people. The effects of the measure will be more clearly observed by contrasting the condition of the people before and after the secularization of the missions. It was the constant, unfailing assertion of the authors of the scheme, that under the new administration the condition of the people

(1) See Governor's Rules at end of vol.

would be materially improved, the population largely increased, and the interests of religion greatly subserved. How far these assertions were borne out in reality, we shall now see.

It has been stated already that in 1822 the entire number of Indians then inhabiting the different missions, amounted to twenty thousand and upwards. To these others were being constantly added, even during those years of political strife which immediately preceded the independence of Mexico, until, in 1836, the numbers amounted to thirty thousand and more. Provided with all the necessaries and comforts of life, instructed in everything requisite for their state in society, and devoutly trained in the duties and requirements of religion, these thirty thousand Californian converts led a peaceful, happy, contented life, strangers to those cares, troubles and anxieties common to higher and more civilized conditions of life. At the same time that their religious condition was one of thankfulness and grateful satisfaction to the Fathers, their worldly position was one of unrivaled abundance and prosperity. Divided between the different missions from San Lucas to San Francisco, close upon one million of live stock belonged to the people. Of these, four hundred thousand were horned cattle, sixty thousand horse, and more than three hundred thousand sheep, goats and swine. The united annual return of the cereals, consisting of wheat, maize, beans, and the

like, was upwards of one hundred and twenty thousand bushels; while at the same time throughout the different missions, the preparation and manufacture of soap, leather, wine, brandy, hides, wool, oil, cotton, hemp, linen, tobacco, salt and soda were largely and extensively cultivated. And to such perfection were these articles brought, that some of them were eagerly sought for and purchased in the principal capitals of Europe.

The material prosperity of the country was further increased by an annual revenue of about one million dollars, the net proceeds of the hides and tallow of one hundred thousand oxen slaughtered annually at the different missions. Another hundred thousand were slaughtered by the settlers for their own private advantage. The revenues on the articles of which there are no specific returns is also supposed to have averaged another million dollars, which, when added to the foregoing, makes the annual revenue of the Californian Catholic missions, at the time of their supremacy, between two and three million dollars. Independent of these, there were the rich and extensive gardens and orchards attached to the missions, exquisitely ornamented and enriched, in many instances, with a great variety of European and tropical fruit trees; plums, bananas, oranges, olives and figs; added to which were the numerous and fertile vineyards, rivaling in the quantity and quality of the grape those of the old countries of Europe, and all used

for the comfort and maintenance of the natives. In a word, the happy results, both spiritual and temporal, produced in Upper California by the spiritual children of St. Francis during the sixty years of their missionary career, were such as have rarely been equaled and never surpassed in modern times. In a country naturally salubrious, and it must be admitted fertile beyond many parts of the world, yet presenting at the outset numerous obstacles to the labors of the missionary, the Fathers succeeded in establishing at regular distances along the coast as many as one-and-twenty missionary establishments. Into these holy retreats their zeal and ability enabled them to gather the whole of the indigenous race, with the exception of a few wandering tribes, who, it is only reasonable to suppose, would also have followed the example of their brethren, had not the labors of the Fathers been dispensed with by the civil authorities. There, in those peaceful, happy abodes, abounding in more than the ordinary enjoyment of things, spiritual and temporal, thirty thousand faithful, simple-hearted Indians passed their days in the practice of virtue and the improvement of the country. From a wandering, savage, uncultivated race, unconscious as well of the God who created them as the end for which they were made, they became, after the advent of the Fathers, a civilized, domestic, Christian people, whose morals were as pure as their lives were simple. Daily attendance

at the holy sacrifice of the mass, morning and night prayer, confession and communion at stated times—the true worship, in a word, of the Deity, succeeded the listless, aimless life, the rude pagan games and the illicit amours. The plains and valleys, which for centuries lay uncultivated and unproductive, now teemed under an abundance of every species of corn; the hills and plains were covered with stock; the fig tree, the olive and the vine yielded their rich abundance; while lying in the harbors, waiting to carry to foreign markets the rich products of the country, might be seen numerous vessels from different parts of the world. Such was the happy and prosperous condition of the country under the missionary rule; and with this the reader is requested to contrast the condition of the people after the removal of the Religious, and the transfer of power to the secular authorities. From the statistical tables given above, we have learned that the increase in the number of Christians from 1802 to 1822, was over five thousand. From then till the banishment of the Fathers, the progress was still greater, for, as has been remarked, the numbers at the time of secularization were thirty thousand and upwards.

In 1833, the decree for the liberation of the Indians was passed by the Mexican congress, and put in force on the following year. The dispersion and demoralization of the people was the immediate result. Within eight years after the exe-

cution of the decree, the number of Christians diminished from thirty thousand six hundred and fifty to four thousand four hundred and fifty! Some of the missions, which in 1834 had as many as one thousand five hundred souls, numbered only a few hundred in 1842. The two missions of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano decreased respectively within this period from one thousand two hundred and fifty and one thousand three hundred, to twenty and seventy! A like diminution was observed in the cattle and general products of the country. Of the eight hundred and eight thousand head of live stock belonging to the missions at the date above-mentioned, only sixty-three thousand and twenty remained in 1842. The diminution in the cereals was equally striking; it fell from seventy to four thousand hectolitres. Nothing could show more satisfactorily the superiority of the Religious over the civil administration than the above, for here we have brought under our notice the most deplorable diminution in the number of the inhabitants and the material prosperity of the country. By descending to particular instances, this will become even more manifest still. At one period during the supremacy of the Fathers, the principal mission of the country (San Diego), produced as much as six thousand fanegas of wheat, and an equal quantity of maize; but in 1842 the return for this mission was only eighteen hundred fanegas in all. Sixty barrels of wine and

brandy were annually produced from the vineyard; a cotton and woolen factory turned out large quantities of stuffs, while a tannery and soap factory added to the general prosperity. A little while after and all these sources of wealth were entirely abandoned and ceased to exist. In the mission of St. John Capistrano, once one of the most flourishing establishments on the coast, possessing a Christian population of over two thousand, rich in herds to the extent of seventy thousand horned cattle, two thousand horse, and more than ten thousand sheep, with an annual return of ten thousand fanegas of corn and oil, and five hundred barrels of wine and brandy, the ruin was such at the time of which we speak, that of the two thousand Indians only *one hundred* remained; of the seventy thousand horned cattle only five hundred; of the horse one hundred, and not a single sheep at all! The harvest returns for the same time were three hundred fanegas of grain and fifty barrels of wine, instead of two thousand of the former and five hundred of the latter.

The mission of St. Gabriel, founded in 1771 by the venerable Father Junipero Serra, at the epoch of its opulence counted as many as three thousand Indians, one hundred and five thousand oxen, twenty thousand horse, and more than forty thousand sheep, together with harvest returns of twenty thousand fanegas of different species of grain, and five hundred barrels of wine and brandy;

but reduced under the civil administration to five hundred Indians, seven hundred oxen, five hundred horse, and three thousand five hundred sheep. Attached to this mission, and farmed for the benefit of the natives, were seventeen extensive ranches. Two hundred pairs of bullocks, and several hundred Indians, were constantly employed in tilling the land. With such temporal prosperity well-regulated and improved by the Fathers, it is easy to conceive the happy and enviable condition of the natives. In the treasury of the last-mentioned mission at the time of the confiscation were one hundred thousand piastres ; and in the warehouses for the use of the natives, as much as two hundred thousand francs worth of European merchandise—all which fell into the hands of the administrators, and were appropriated by them. The devastation of the other establishments was on a scale equally great, as the reader may learn from the following tabular statistics:

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE MISSIONS OF UPPER CALIFORNIA UNDER THE RELIGIOUS ADMINISTRATION IN 1834, AND UNDER THE CIVIL IN 1842.

Names of the Missions.	Time of Foundation.	Distance from preceding Leagues.	Number of Indians.		Number of Horned Cattle.		Number of Horses.		Number of Sheep, Goats and Swine.		Harvest.
			1834.	1842.	1834.	1842.	1834.	1842.	1834.	1842.	
San Diego	June 16, 1769.	17	2,500	500	12,000	20	1,800	100	17,000	200	13,000
San Luis Rey	June 13, 1798.	14	3,500	650	80,000		10,000	400	100,000	4,000	14,000
San Juan Capistrano	Nov. 1, 1776.	13	1,700	100	70,000	2,800	1,900	150	10,000	200	10,000
San Gabriel.....	Sept 8, 1771...	18	2,700	500	105,000	500	20,000	500	40,000	3,500	20,000
San Fernando.....	Sept. 8, 1797..	9	1,500	400	14,000	1,500	5,000	400	7,000	2,000	8,000
San Buenaventura	March 31, 1782	18	1,100	300	4,000	200	1,000	40	6,000	400	3,000
Santa Barbara	Dec. 4, 1786...	12	1,200	400	5,000	1,800	1,200	180	5,000	400	3,000
Santa Inéz.....	Sept. 17, 1804.	12	1,300	250	14,000	10,000	1,200	500	12,000	4,000	3,500
La Purissima Conception.	Dec. 8, 1787...	8	900	60	15,000	800	2,000	300	14,000	3,500	6,000
San Luis Obispo.....	Sept. 1, 1771..	18	1,250	80	9,000	300	4,000	200	7,000	800	4,000
San Miguel.....	July 25, 1797..	13	1,200	30	4,000	40	2,500	50	10,000	400	2,500
San Antonio	July 14, 1771..	13	1,400	150	12,000	800	2,000	500	14,000	2,000	3,000
N. S. de la Soledad.....	Oct. 9, 1791..	11	700	20	6,000	..	1,200	..	7,000	..	2,500
Mission del Carmel.....	June 3, 1770..	15	500	40	3,000	..	700	..	9,000	..	1,500
San Juan Bautista.....	June 24, 1799.	14	1,450	80	9,000	..	1,200	..	10,000	..	3,500
Santa Cruz.....	Aug. 28, 1791..	17	600	50	8,000	..	800	..	15,000	..	2,500
Santa Clara.....	Jan. 18, 1777..	11	1,800	300	13,000	1,500	1,200	250	19,000	3,000	6,000
San José.....	June 18, 1797..	7	2,300	400	2,400	8,000	1,100	200	4,000	7,000	10,000
Dolores de San Francisco.	Oct. 9, 1776...	18	500	50	5,000	60	1,600	50	4,500	200	2,500
San Rafael.....	Dec. 18, 1817..	8	1,250	20	3,000	..	500	..	4,500	..	1,500
San Francisco Solano....	Aug. 25, 1823..	13	1,300	70	3,000	..	700	..	4,000	..	3,000
21 Missions, upon a distance of 263 leagues.			30,600	4,450	424,000	28,220	62,500	3,800	321,500	31,600	122,500 bush.

In the foregoing, the reader has an incontrovertible proof of the superiority of the Religious over the civil administration. By these figures we see that as long as the Fathers were unmolested in the discharge of their duty, the country advanced rapidly on the road of prosperity and numbers ; but, on the other hand, as soon as the civil authorities took the management of affairs into their hands, ruin and demoralization were the consequence. To this the following unimpeachable writers also bear unequivocal testimony. Speaking of the change that happened in the country, Wilkes, one of the exploring expedition sent out by the American government in 1842, says: "At the same time with a change of rulers, the country was deprived of the religious establishments *upon which its society and good order were founded*. Anarchy and confusion began to reign, and the want of authority was everywhere felt ; some of the missions were deserted ; the property which had been amassed in them was dissipated, and the Indians *turned out to seek their native wilds*. This act (the secularization act) brought about the ruin of the missions, and the property that was still left became a prey to the rapacity of the governor, the needy officers and the administrador, who have well-nigh consumed all." And again: "Nothing can be in a worse state than the low offices, such as the alcalde, etc. They are now held by ignorant men, who have no idea of justice, which is generally administered

according to the alcalde's individual notions, as his feelings may be enlisted or the standing of the parties. To recover a debt by legal means is considered as beyond possibility, and creditors must wait until the debtor is disposed to pay. Until lately the *word of a Californian* was sufficient to ensure the payment of claims upon him; but such has been the *moral degradation* which has fallen upon the people, since the missions have been robbed by the authorities, and the old priests driven out, that no reliance can now be placed upon their promises, and all those who have lately trusted them complain that engagements are not regarded, and that it is next to impossible for any to obtain any return for any goods that have been delivered."¹ Contrasted with that, as showing the justice and security under the missionary rule, is the testimony of a by no means partial historian. Speaking of the state of affairs while in the hands of the missionaries, Alexander Forbes, in his *History of Upper California*, says: "Much credit is unquestionably due to them (the Fathers), and the result exhibits in a striking point of view the efficacy of the system followed by the Fathers, more especially when compared with that adopted by missionaries in other countries. * * * There are, I fear, few examples to be found, where men enjoying unlimited confidence and power, have not abused them. And yet I have *never heard* that the

(1) *Wilkes' Exploring Expedition* : p. 161.

missionaries of California have not acted with the most perfect fidelity, that they *ever betrayed their trust or exercised inhumanity* ; and the testimony of all travelers who have visited this country, is uniformly to the same effect. On the contrary," continues the same author, "there are recorded instances of the most extraordinary zeal, industry and philanthropy in the conduct of those men. Since the country has been opened, strangers have found at their missions the most generous and disinterested hospitality, protection and kindness ; and this without one solitary instance to the contrary that I have ever heard of." He then goes on to describe the character of one of the Fathers: "He (Father Peyri) first built a small thatched cottage, and asked for a few cattle and Indians from the mission. After a constant residence of thirty-four years at this place (the mission of San Luis Rey) he left it stocked with nearly sixty thousand head of domesticated animals of all sorts, and yielding an annual produce of about thirteen thousand bushels of grain, while the population amounted to nearly three thousand Indians ! He left also a complete set of buildings, including a church with enclosures, etc. Yet, after these thirty-four years of incessant labor, in which he expended the most valuable part of his life, the worthy Peyri left his mission with only what he judged to be sufficient means to enable him to join his convent in the city of Mexico, where he threw

himself upon the charity of his order. The toil of managing such an establishment would be sufficient motive for a man of Father Peyri's age to retire; but the new order of things, which has introduced new men and new measures—when the political power has been entrusted to heads not over-wise and to hands not over-pure, when the theoretical doctrine of liberty and equality have been preached while oppression and rapine have been practiced—has doubtless accelerated his resignation. Whatever his motives may have been, his voluntary retirement into poverty to spend his remaining days in pious exercises, must be applauded by the religious, and his noble disinterestedness by all. At his mission, strangers of all countries and modes of faith, as well as his fellow-subjects, found always a hearty welcome and the utmost hospitality.

Many of my countrymen and personal friends have related to me, with enthusiasm, the kindness and protection which they have received at his hands; boons which are doubly valuable where places of entertainment do not exist, and where security is not firmly established.”¹

Dwinelle, in his *Colonial History of San Francisco*, is equally explicit: “The results of the mission scheme of Christianization and colonization were such as to justify the plans of the wise statesmen

(1) *Hist. of Upper and Lower California*, Alexander Forbes; p. 228, 529.

who hitherto devised it and to gladden the hearts of the pious men who devoted their lives to its execution. * * * If we ask where are now the thirty thousand Christianized Indians, who once *enjoyed the beneficence and created the wealth* of the twenty-one Catholic missions of California, and then contemplate *the most wretched* of all want of system, which has succeeded them under our own government (American), we shall not withhold our admiration from those good and devoted men, who, with such wisdom, sagacity and self-sacrifice, reared these wonderful institutions in the wilderness of California. *They*, at least, would have preserved these Indian races, if they had been left to pursue unmolested their work of pious beneficence.”¹

With the ruin of the missions and the dispersion of the natives came also the ill-treatment and cruelty of the Religious. The arrangements made for supplying the place of the Fathers not being equal to the emergency, the neophytes were in several instances entirely abandoned and deprived of the services of religion. Those of the missionaries, on the other hand, who had obtained permission to remain on taking the oath of allegiance to the new constitution, were treated with uniform insult, indignity and affront. Deprived of their former authority and position they became the dependents of those who before were only their

(1) *Colonial Hist. of San Francisco*: Dwinelle ; pp. 44, 87.

underlings, and, strange to consider, these very men, when raised above the heads of their masters, treated them more in the character of menials than ministers of religion. "We have seen," says De Mofras, "the Rev. Father Gonzales obliged to sit at the table of the administrator, and to suffer the rudeness of *cowherds* and majordomos, who but a few years before esteemed themselves happy to enter the service of the monks as domestics."¹ Speaking of the mission of St. Anthony, the same writer says: "The only Religious who still inhabit San Antonio, the Rev. Father Gutierrez gave us the most hospitable reception; and we saw with indignation that an ancient domestic who had become administrator of the mission took advantage of the paralytic state of this ecclesiastic to put him on rations and even refuse him the actual necessities of life." Of the reduced state of the mission of San Luis Obispo, he says: "In the building, at present (1842) in ruins, we found reduced to the greatest misery the oldest Spanish Franciscan of all California, the Rev. Father Raman Abella Araegonais, who saw the illustrious Peyrouse in 1787. The mission has suffered such devastation that this poor Religious slept on an oxhide, drank out of a horn, and had only for his food *some morsels of meat dried in the sun!* This venerable Father distributed the little that was sent him among the Indian children, who still in-

(1) Vol. 1, p. 342.

habit, with their families, the tottering hovels attached to the mission. Several charitable persons, as well as Father Duran, have offered an asylum to Father Abella, but he always refuses and declares that he wishes to die at his post. This worthy man, who has founded several missions to the north, is almost sixty years in the apostleship and speaks still of going to the conquest of souls, while at the same time in an age so advanced he supports without murmur the humiliation and privation which poverty brings."

More remarkable than the foregoing as showing the heartlessness and rapacity of the civil administrators on the one hand, and the heroic zeal and devotion to duty of the missionaries on the other, is the case of the Rev. Father Sarria, who died of starvation at the mission of Soledad in the year 1838. The circumstances connected with the venerable man's death are these: The mission of Soledad, of which Father Sarria was pastor, was founded in the year 1791. It was once a flourishing Christian settlement, possessing its hundreds of converts and thousands of cattle. Want had never been known there from the time of its foundation up to the moment of confiscation. Immediately upon the change, however, so great was the plunder and devastation of everything belonging to the mission that the Father, who remained at his post with a few of the Indians, was unable to obtain the ordinary necessities of life, yet re-

duced as he was to the greatest extremity, he would not abandon the remnant of his flock. For thirty years he had labored among them, and now, if necessary, he was ready to die in their behalf. Broken down by years and exhausted by hunger, one Sunday morning in the month of August of the above mentioned year, the holy old man assembled in his little church the few converts that remained to him. It was the last time he was to appear before them. Hardly had he commenced the holy sacrifice of the Mass when his strength completely failed him; he fell before the altar and expired in the arms of his people, for whom he so zealously and earnestly labored. Noble and worthy death of a Spanish missionary priest.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT CONFISCATES THE CHURCH PROPERTY, OR PIOUS FUND, OF CALIFORNIA. — ITS HISTORY. — EFFECTS OF CONFISCATION. — ANARCHY. — REVOLUTION IN 1836. — ALVARADO AS LEADER. — IS OPPOSED BY CASTILLERO. — CARILLO APPOINTED GOVERNOR. — PLOT FOR THE OVERTHROW OF ALVARADO. — CONSPIRATORS CAPTURED. — THEIR TREATMENT. — MICHELTORENA ARRIVES. — HE RESTORES THE MISSIONS TO THE RELIGIOUS. — GOVERNMENT DISSATISFIED AT THE PROGRESS BEING MADE. — ORDERS THEM TO BE SOLD. — THE EXTINCTION OF THE NATIVE CHURCH. — UPPER CALIFORNIA ANNEXED BY AMERICA.

WHILE the things spoken of in the preceding chapter were being enacted in California, the Mexican government on its part was equally active in depriving the missions of those hereditary estates which the piety and liberality of the faithful had charitably donated for the exclusive establishment and maintenance of religion in the country. Under the plea that the missions were no longer in need of external support, the congress of Mexico, by a decree passed on the twenty-fifth of May, 1832, empowered the executive to rent out all the mission properties for a period of seven years, the proceeds to be paid into the national treasury. By virtue of this decree the fifty thousand dollars paid annually to the Fathers passed to the use of the government. The other acts of this congress respecting the status and liberty of the Mexican

Church were equally arbitrary and rapacious. After having abrogated the authority of the sovereign Pontiff, suppressed the convents of the Religious, and abolished the compulsory payment of titles, they ended by proposing to the nation the confiscation of the entire property of the Church for the liquidation of the national debt. A measure so radical and irreligious produced results entirely different from what its authors had contemplated. The country being unprepared for such a scheme, the national conscience was rudely shocked, and a revolution which ended in the abrogation of the constitution of 1824, and the formation of a consolidated republic, of which Santa Anna became president, was the result. This was in 1835, and in the following year the new congress, more Catholic and conscientious than its predecessor, restored to the ecclesiastical authorities of California the whole of the mission property, or pious fund, to be employed according to the original intentions of the donors. The pious fund thus restored to its original purpose was administered by the ecclesiastical authorities till 1842, when the provisional president, General Santa Anna, deprived the bishop, Right Rev. Dr. Diego, of its administration, and entrusted it to General Valencia. This was only preparatory to its entire appropriation, for in the same year, 1842, the same unscrupulous functionary, Santa Anna, sold the whole to the mercantile firm of Barrio & Rubio for

a sum known only to the contracting parties. "Bold," says de Mofras, "by the very excess of weakness, the Mexican government recoiled from no arbitrary measure to supply its financial deficits. Thus it has not hesitated to seize the property belonging to the missions of California, whose value was not less than *two million dollars*." The illegality and injustice of this act will be better understood by the reader on learning the history of this ecclesiastical property, or pious fund, as it was more generally known.

The pious fund of California was the aggregate sums donated by Catholics for the establishment and maintenance of missions in Lower and Upper California. It dates from the end of the seventeenth century. In the beginning of the year 1697, before the royal warrants had yet been obtained by the Jesuit Fathers for the reduction of California, Father Salva Tierra proceeded to Mexico, by permission of his superiors, for the purpose of collecting funds for the establishment of missions in the country. Amongst those who subscribed largely to the Father on this occasion, were Don Alonso Davolas, Count de Mira Vallez, and Don Matheo Fernandez de la Cruz, who donated two thousand dollars. This, with the other private subscriptions collected by the Father, amounted in all to the sum of fifteen thousand dollars. At the same time the congregation of Our Lady of Doulours gave eight thousand dollars

as a fund for one mission, to which they afterwards added a donation of two thousand dollars more, as nothing short of ten thousand dollars sufficed for the establishment and maintenance of each mission.

During the same year, Don Juan Cavallero y Ozio, a devout and wealthy priest of the city of Querataro, subscribed twenty thousand crowns for the establishment of two other missions, which, added to the sums already mentioned, constituted the beginning of what was afterwards known as the Pious Fund of California.

On the fifth of February, 1697, the royal warrants were issued to Father Tierra, and two days later, on the seventh of the same month, he left Mexico and set out for California, where he arrived in the same year. For the next few years the missions were in a very struggling condition, Father Kühno, who was in Sonora, collected what subscriptions he could, and sent them to his brother Religious.

The next important donation made to the missions, was in 1702, by Don Joseph de la Puente. Marquis de Villa Puente, who subscribed for the establishment of three missions; while Don Nicolas de Artega and his lady founded another, which made the sum equal to forty thousand dollars. To these, other donations were being constantly added, till in 1716, the aggregate sums collected from all sources amounted to one million two hundred and seventy-three thousand dollars, of which only

eighteen thousand dollars had been received from government. It is to be observed that these donations and all others of a like nature afterwards subscribed, were given not only for the establishment, but also for the maintenance of the missions *in perpetuum*.

Up to this, several of the large sums subscribed for the establishment of missions, remained in the hands of the donors, the interest only being annually remitted to the Fathers. The insecurity of this system was seen, by the failure of one of the contributors, Don Lopez, by which ten thousand dollars were lost to the fathers, and one mission left entirely without funds. To avoid the recurrence of a like disaster, it was thought more prudent to call in all the promised donations, and invest them in land and other real estate, the annual revenue of which would serve for the maintenance of the missions. This was accordingly done, and the ranches of Guadaloupe, Huateca and Huapango, were purchased from the proceeds. To these were afterwards added the landed estate of San Pedro Torrean, Rincon and Galandrinan, with several mines, manufactories, flocks and more than five hundred square leagues of land in the province of Tamaulipas.¹

It would not be easy to determine the exact amount the above lands, mines, etc., may have represented. Up to 1768, they remained under

(1) Vide *De Mofras*, vol. I., p. 278; *Colonial Hist. Cal.*, Dwinelle; p. 45.

the control of the Jesuit Fathers; but on the expulsion of these Religious, they were taken charge of by the Spanish civil authorities, and farmed for the benefit of the missions. They yielded at this period an annual revenue of fifty thousand dollars.¹ Twenty-four thousand of this was expended in the stipend of the Franciscan and Dominican missionaries, and twenty-six thousand for mission purposes in general. This arrangement lasted up to 1827, from which period up to 1818, and again from 1828 to 1831, the missionaries did not receive their stipend, owing to the political troubles in Spain and Mexico at these periods. If we take, then, those years during which the civil authorities did not remit to the Fathers any of the annual fifty thousand, we obtain an aggregate sum of five hundred thousand dollars. To this must be added two hundred thousand dollars, appropriated by the king's fiscal, in 1806, seventy-eight thousand dollars forcibly seized by government in 1827, and two hundred and seventy-two thousand dollars, the value of goods supplied by the Fathers to the presidios, for which they were never paid. All these, taken as one, show the indebtedness of the Mexican government, from this source alone, to the Catholic missions of California to be one million five hundred thousand dollars. Then there were the large mission estates confiscated by the congress of Jalisco, which may be set down at

(1) Vide *De Mofras*, vol. 1., p. 266-268.

one hundred and fifty thousand dollars ; and finally, all the live stock belonging to the missions at the time of the secularization ; representing, according to the fairest estimate, three millions of dollars, all lost to the Fathers by an Act of Congress, which placed them in the hands of administrators, who administered them as Congress administered the estates of the Church or the Pious Fund. The actual indebtedness, then, of the Mexican government to the Catholic missions of California, stands thus :

1. Neglect to pay the annual church revenue of fifty thousand dollars, from 1811 to 1818; and from 1828 to 1831	\$500,000
2. Appropriated in 1806 for the use of the Spanish government.....	200,000
3. Forcibly seized in the mint in Mexico in 1827 by government.....	78,000
4. Articles supplied to the Presidios.....	272,000
5. Estates confiscated by the congress of Jalisco.....	150,000
6. Interest on these sums	600,000
7. Interest of the pious fund for four years, from 1832 to 1836, during which time the annual revenue of fifty thousand dollars were paid into the national treasury.....	200,000
8. Sale of the Pious Fund.....	2,000,000
9. Interest on the Pious Fund from its confiscation in 1842, at the rate of five per cent.	2,800,000
10. Confiscation of the live stock.....	3,000,000
11. Interest on this amount from 1842 to 1870.	4,200,000
<hr/>	
Total indebtedness of the Mexican government to the Catholic Church of California.....	\$12,200,000

The loss to the Church of the pious fund was most injurious to the missions. Already they had been ruined almost beyond the hope of a remedy by the previous action of congress. As long, however, as this property remained to them, they had at least something to hope for, though it might be only a precarious support, but this no longer at their command, nothing awaited them in the future but poverty and neglect. Nor was this all that the native Christian congregations had to complain of at this time. Following the example set them by government, the white population in several instances laid violent hands on the lands and the stock of the converts, giving them nothing in return but ill-usage and abuse if they dared to complain. Thus injured and thwarted by government and private individuals, the people assumed an attitude of defence; and then began that system of retaliation which for several years, from 1834, kept the country in a state of continual anarchy. Returning to their mountain fastnesses, the Indians instituted a kind of predatory warfare against their oppressors; carrying off, in some instances, their cattle and provisions, and in others, what was dearer to them than both, their wives and their daughters. Being thoroughly acquainted with the nature of the country, and expert in horsemanship from their earliest years, they had a decided advantage over the whites; yet the latter naturally resented the lawlessness, and retaliated by carry-

ing fire and sword into their locality. On some of these occasions whole villages were destroyed, and deeds of rapine and reckless atrocity committed, of which it is better to be silent.

At the same time a spirit of revolt was growing in the minds of the whites against their Mexican masters. Ostensibly with a view of gaining their independence, but in reality with the object of plunder and personal aggrandizement, a few daring conspirators raised the standard of revolt in 1836, seized upon Monterey, and declared the country independent of Mexico. Those who first engaged in the scheme were, indeed, only few. Thirty American riflemen, under the command of one Graham, from Tennessee, and sixty mounted Californians, commanded by Castro, but all under the direction of Alvarado, a native of the country, composed the entire revolutionary force. Angel Ramirez and Don Cosme Pena, both Mexican officials, were also engaged in the movement, and charged with its interest. The party first marched on the capital, where they arrived on the second November. Their first care was to obtain possession of the battery which commanded the bay, and might be made to play upon the city and presidio. In this they met with no opposition, probably because of their coming being a secret; but as no ammunition fell into their hands, their success was not all they anticipated. The necessary material, however, was quickly supplied them by three

American vessels then in the port, while the requisite commissariat was also provided by American citizens. Gutierrez, the governor, with seventy men under his command, ignominiously shut himself up in the fort, and awaited an attack. Thus, comparatively secure, he might at least have made a certain show of defence; but the mere presence of the enemy seems to have been too much for his nerves, for, at the first shot from their camp, he demanded a parley and capitulated on certain favorable conditions.¹ The conditions, however, were never observed, for, as soon as the rebels found themselves masters of the situation, forgetful of the stipulated agreement, they deported the governor and his officials to Lower California. Then became apparent the contradictory spirit by which the revolutionary leaders were animated. Faithful to the instincts of their race, the Americans endeavored to persuade the Californians to demand admission into the Union. Alvarado, Peña and Ramirez, on the other hand, were opposed to this course, and eventually succeeded in preventing its adoption. Meantime, Alvarado, who had directed the movements from the beginning, was not idle in his own interest. By his influence and popularity, he succeeded in getting himself appointed to the position of governor in the place of Gutierrez.

Don Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo obtained the

(1) De Mofras says that Gutierrez was abandoned by his troops; if so, he cannot be charged with cowardice.

position of military commandant-general, the office of prefect being conferred upon Don José Castro, an officer of police. The chief offices being thus filled, and a shadow of constitutional government established, the country was formally erected into a *free and sovereign state*; but only conditionally, provisions being made that in case the then existing central government of Mexico were overthrown, and a federal constitution adopted in its stead, California should enter the confederation with the other states.

The events that thus occurred at the capital, though important as respected the community, did not immediately put the country into the hands of the party. The inhabitants of Santa Barbara and Los Angeles refused to acknowledge the change, but Alvarado was not the man to brook opposition, and accordingly marched upon the first mentioned place with a body of followers. He was met by Castillero, who, though at the head of a much larger command, was yet fearful of risking an engagement, and came to terms with his opponent. In accordance with the provisions of the agreement it was arranged that Alvarado should recognize the existing central constitution of Mexico, be proclaimed political chief, *pro tem.*, and that Castillero should proceed to Mexico to arrange matters with government as deputy to congress, with a salary of three thousand piastres a year. The terms of the agreement were, indeed,

favorable to the contracting parties, and cannot fail to excite a smile on the countenance of the reader. The fact of the leader of the revolution proposing terms to the legitimate rulers, and expecting to be confirmed in his position by them, is not often to be met with in the pages of history.

In effect Castillero set out for the capital, but not content with confining himself to the object of his mission, he found leisure and means of intriguing against the interests of the Religious and their flocks. The little wealth and authority which the Fathers still retained were the objects of his unscrupulous avarice, nor was he at a loss for assistants to carry out his unholy design. Influenced by the accounts which he furnished of the still existing riches of the missions, the government passed a law, on the seventeenth of August, 1837, completely depriving the Religious of the temporal administration, and placing it in the hands of the governor. Touching the direct mission of the deputy, it could not be expected that government, however weak and unable to maintain its authority, would confirm the position of Alvarado as governor; and we accordingly find the nomination of Don Carlos Carillo, a former deputy to congress, to that post. Alvarado, thus disappointed in his expectations from congress, determined to maintain his position by an appeal to arms. He accordingly put himself at the head of a number of his followers, amounting to fifty or

more, Americans and Californians, and marched against the new governor, then in possession of Santa Barbara. Carillo, though supported by a larger number of troops, was fearful of risking a battle, knowing the qualities of the American sharpshooters as marksmen. He accordingly retired from the field without coming to an engagement, and left Alvarado master of the position. Inconceivable as it may appear, the Mexican government, on learning the state of affairs, confirmed Alvarado in his position of constitutional governor, unmindful of the fact that he had been the leader of the rebellion—had declared the country independent—was desirous of handing it over to strangers, and had driven from their posts the two governors, Gutierrez and Carillo, duly appointed by congress.

This weak, undignified conduct, in recognizing and confirming the power and authority of a rebel, is sufficient to indicate to the reader the impotent state of the republic at the time.

As may be expected, Alvarado, in gratitude for the part his adherents had taken in raising him to power, was not slow in rewarding them for their services. Upon his English and American supporters he bestowed grants of land, money and stock confiscated from the missions. Graham, the captain of the band, obtained as his share a landed estate and two hundred mules. Alvarado, himself, was only too ready to take advantage of the

provisions of the law made in his favor, constituting him temporal administrator, whereby he was enabled to appropriate to his own use a considerable part of the cattle of the mission of Carmelo, and the moneys resulting from the sale of the live stock, vineyards and houses of Our Lady of Soledad. To the commandant, General Vallejo, fell the goods and stock of the missions of San Rafael and San Francisco Solano; while to Castro, the prefect of Monterey, was given all the movable and immovable property of the mission of San Juan Bautista.

Thus, under the sanction and by the approval of Congress, these revolutionary agents laid violent hands upon the remaining public and private property of the missions, and unscrupulously appropriated it to their own personal use. To the memory, however, of Alvarado, it must be acknowledged, that though ambitious and unscrupulous, when his own and his party's interests were at stake, he had, withal, sufficient honor and conscience to endeavor to restrain within bounds the utterly shameless proceedings of the other administrators, in whose hands the management of the missions had been placed since 1833. Hence, with the view of preventing speculation, and of providing for the better interests of the natives, he issued a regulation in January of 1837, limiting the powers of the administrators, and obliging them to furnish their accounts to the government. But

this proving unavailing, the office was abolished, and substituted by that of mayordomo.

Meanwhile, Alvarado's own position was becoming more and more critical. As generally happens in revolutionary outbursts, when the leaders consider their services unfairly remunerated, a counter revolution is generally the result; so, in this instance, the governor's English and American supporters, deeming themselves sorely aggrieved, formed another conspiracy for overthrowing the government and making California independent, with the ultimate object of obtaining for her admission into the Union. The conspirators, who numbered in all six-and-forty persons, twenty-five English, chiefly deserters from the vessels then lying in the harbor, and twenty-one Americans, were commanded by Graham. Immediately before the execution of the design, one of the conspirators, Garner, influenced by the hope of obtaining a considerable reward, betrayed his companions, by informing the governor. Alvarado was not slow in taking the necessary measures to prevent the success of the plot. The limited number of troops at his command, and the unreliableness of those he might be able to press into the service, showed him the necessity of avoiding an open engagement. To surprise the conspirators, capture them in their assembly, and banish them the country, seemed the most prudent and certain of success. A company of soldiers, com-

manded by Castro, was accordingly dispatched for the town of Monterey, near which the chiefs of the revolutionary party were then known to be assembled. After marching some miles into the country under the guidance of the informer, they arrived at the hut where the conspirators were gathered. The night being far advanced, the men had retired to rest, and while utterly unconscious of the danger in which they were placed, a volley was poured into their midst, which resulted in the disablement of the majority. One, who attempted to escape, was cut down by a blow of a sabre, and the others, seeing the inutility of resistance, submitted to their captors, and were conducted, as prisoners, to the governor. This utterly barbarous act Castro attempted to justify, by alleging the danger his men would be in by an open engagement. Of the conspirators, who were composed of Americans, English and French, only a few obtained their release. The others, without any investigation or trial, were immediately put on board a corvette, and deported to San Blas, whence they were sent to Tepic, a town in the interior, where they were treated as convicts. This arbitrary proceeding on the part of Alvarado, evoked from the English and American representatives a strong reclamation. Bustamante, president of the republic at the time, was alarmed, and ordered the prisoners to be released and returned to California at the public expense. He further ordered

them an indemnity of three piastres a day for the loss of their time, but did not give any instructions for reimbursing them for the loss of any property they may have sustained in consequence of their arrest. At the representation, however, of the English and American consuls, one hundred and fifty-three thousand piastres were afterwards granted them.

Enraged against Castro and Alvarado, by whom they had been arrested and maltreated, the returned prisoners no sooner found themselves back in the country, than they applied themselves with still greater energy to carrying out their original plan. The only obstacle that impeded their purpose was the fear lest in renewing the attempt, they would not be supported by the American authorities. Meanwhile, the governor continued at the head of affairs, there being none to oppose him directly but a spirited Dominican Religious, Father Gabriel, of Lower California, who, at the head of his people, offered a feeble resistance, while attempting to prevent the entire spoliation of his mission. Though thus successful in opposing the authority of government and private individuals, the governor's position was by no means secure. In 1841, as has been remarked, several Americans, allured by the favorable accounts of the country, arrived in California. The presence of these men, at that particular juncture, was the cause of the greatest anxiety to the authorities.

The old animosity that existed in the minds of the outraged American and English conspirators, was sure to be revived, and an attempt at retaliation essayed, now that the party had little to fear. Fearing the consequences almost certain to result from another revolt, Alvarado demanded reinforcements from Mexico; but the only assistance he received was that of three hundred convicts, drawn from the Mexican prisons; and who, it was thought, in gratitude for their deliverance, would prove themselves the guardians of peace! The president, Santa Anna, at the same time removed Alvarado from the office of governor, and appointed in his stead the general of brigade, Don Manuel Micheltorena; but the latter had hardly arrived in the country, when he learned that Monterey had fallen into the hands of the Americans. The commander of the United States squadron then in the Pacific, Commodore Catesby Jones, in the belief that war had broken out between his country and Mexico, hastened to Monterey, and on the twentieth of October, 1842, took possession of the city, hoisted the American colors, and issued a proclamation declaring the country a part of the republic. Four-and-twenty hours later, when the news of the still existing peaceful relations between the two countries arrived, the commodore had the mortification of being necessitated to lower his flag and to apologize for his conduct.

It was now clear that California was liable at

any moment to pass from under Mexican rule, and to become an integral portion of the American nation. At the first intimation of war, the commodore was sure to repeat his former proceeding, and take possession of the country in the name of his nation. The only thing that could have prevented such a result, would be the cession of the country to some other nation. Nor was this, at the moment, very unlikely; for it had been seriously contemplated by government to hand over both Californias to the British authorities, in lieu of the debts due by the republic to the subjects of Great Britain. This, however, was prevented by the immediate turn of events; and, indeed, even if ceded, it is almost certain that America would have ultimately claimed it as her own—a proceeding which would have given rise to hostilities, and a deplorable war between the two nations.

One of the first acts of the new governor, on entering on the duties of his office, was the restoration of the missions to the Religious. On examining into the state of affairs, and the requirements of the country, he was persuaded that tranquillity and prosperity could only be expected by a return to the original system. This, though a politic and statesmanlike view, was unequal to the occasion; it came too late, the missions were ruined beyond the hope of a remedy. The wise and liberal-minded governor, however, sought the accomplishment of his purpose, and on the year

following his arrival, restored the missions to the natives, and their direction to the Religious.¹ The wisdom and policy of this act cannot for a moment be doubted. It was, under the circumstances, the only sure means of restoring order to the country, and of providing for the happiness of the people, and the security of government. For a half a century and upwards, as long as the authority of the Fathers was recognized, the country was prosperous, the people happy, and the government secure. Hundreds were being annually reclaimed from their barbarous state, the lands were turned to most profitable account, the flocks increased and trade advanced. But when the new order of things was substituted for the old—when the authority was taken out of the hands of the Religious, six years of the most bitter experience clearly demonstrated the false notions of the time, and the decided superiority of the Religious over the civil regime.

His excellency was also aware that unless the missions were re-formed, and the scattered Indians induced to return, the government, of which he was a representative, would, indeed, have but a very imperfect hold on the country, and would, eventually, have the mortification of seeing it absorbed by the American republic. Under the circumstances, then, the scheme for the restoration of the missions was, in principal, good, yet unhap-

(1) See Governor's Proclamation at end of vol.

pily, from the very disorganized state of affairs at the time, unequal to the end. Those of the Indians who had returned to their wilds, and lived by brigandage, were too altered and demoralized in character and religion, to be easily persuaded to return; those, on the other hand, who wandered idly through the country, or lived in misery at the missions, remembering the cruelties practiced on them by the whites, could not readily read a sufficient security in the new order of the governor to induce them to assume with alacrity their former occupations. Still, an effort was made to carry out the governor's scheme. For two years the Religious labored to this end, with all the zeal, energy and ability that characterized them from the beginning. Already the happy fruits of their labors were apparent; numbers of the Indians had returned; others were coming in. The lands were being again tilled and the flocks attended; but it was still manifest that yet many years would be required, before things could be brought to the same flourishing condition as before. This the government was unwilling to brook, and in keeping with all its other arbitrary acts respecting the Californian Church, determined upon renting and selling the missions. To this end, in 1845, the departmental assembly empowered the then acting governor, Pio Pico, to dispose of, either by renting or selling to the white settlers of the country, the missions established by the

Fathers.¹ From that moment, the hopes of the native Christian congregations were at an end. By virtue of the governor's order, the property which had been realized through a long series of years, by the patient toil, devotion and care of the Religious, for the exclusive benefit of the natives, now passed into the possession of private individuals, while the Religious themselves, the authors of the country's temporal prosperity, were reduced, as we have seen, to the condition of menials, deprived of the common necessities of life. Thus sank, never to be revived, the hopes, the aspirations and well-being of the native Christian congregations of both Californias.

The destruction of the native church was the prelude to the annexation of the country by America, the immediate circumstances connected with which were as follows:

In 1835, Texas revolted against the federal government, and asserted its independence. On the following year, the commander of the Mexican forces, after being defeated by the Texans, acknowledged the independence of the province, and signed a treaty to that effect. This, however, the Mexicans, as a people, do not seem to have ever endorsed; for when a new party came into power, they still claimed authority over Texas as a part of the republic. The Texans, meantime, paid no attention to the claim, continued to govern themselves as an

(1) See Proclamation at end of vol.

independent people, and as such were regarded by America and Great Britain. During the nine years that immediately followed this change, the inhabitants frequently demanded admission into the Union, but were as often refused. At length, in 1845, it being then manifest that Mexico could no longer assert its authority over that people, the American congress, with the unanimous consent of the Texan people, passed resolutions annexing the province. Five days later the Mexican ambassador at Washington demanded his papers, and quitted the country. The *casus belli*, however, was not exactly the annexation of the province, but a disagreement respecting its boundaries. According to the Texans, the Rio Grande was the natural boundary, but the Mexicans, on the other hand, maintained that the Newwasas was the line.

A difference of some hundred and twenty-five or thirty miles of territory was thus the cause of dispute. To avoid the consequences of a war, overtures were made by America, but scornfully rejected by Mexico. Under the circumstances, the cabinet at Washington saw no other course than to enforce its authority by arms; and to carry out this resolution, early in 1846, General Taylor was commanded to occupy the territory in dispute. Then commenced that series of terrible engagements which ended in the complete overthrow of the Mexicans, and the taking of their capital.

The same year that Texas was received into the

Union, Colonel John C. Fremont, of the United States topographical survey, was sent out by the government to explore the territories of Utah, California and Oregon. The object of this commission can be hardly supposed to be other than to prepare the way for the annexation of those provinces. In January, 1846, Fremont arrived in California, and his presence was at once construed unfavorably by the local authorities. Indeed, it was impossible, considering the circumstances, that it could be looked upon otherwise. While proceeding at the head of his party to Monterey, the prefect Castro's suspicions were further awakened, and he forbade his approach. Leaving his men at a distance, Fremont rode into the city, offered such explanations as seemed to satisfy Castro, and returned to proceed on his way to the territory of Oregon. But he had not gone very far when he altered his resolution, (if, indeed, he ever seriously entertained any,) and resolved to seize upon the country. The reasons assigned for his adopting this course are differently stated. Some attribute it to the difficulty of his position, and the bad faith of the Mexican authorities, who, it is stated, had instigated the Indians to prevent his advance, and had also taken measures to expel all the American settlers from the province. That these were only imaginary reasons, assigned for the purpose of justifying the act, but not borne out by the facts, it is not very difficult to see. For

instead of desiring to prevent his departure from California, that was what the authorities were most anxious to see; and as regarded the expulsion of the Americans from the country, it was not a project at all likely to be entertained at that particular juncture, as well on account of the unpleasant relations then existing between the two countries, as also, and more especially because of the great power and influence of the American subjects themselves at the time. The veritable cause seems to have been derived from an entirely different source, namely, the determination of government to become possessed of the country—a resolve which was hastened and matured by the news that arrived in California, in the beginning of 1846, of the probabilities of a war between the two countries. But, to whatever it may be attributed, in the spring of that year Colonel Fremont took the bold and arbitrary step of seizing on the country in the name of his nation. Considering the very limited number of men under his command, they being, in all, only sixty-two, his project could not be well regarded by the more prudent than perilous in the extreme. But he was aware both of the character of the Californian troops, as well as the assistance he might expect from his countrymen; nor were there wanting those who are of opinion that the movement was forced upon him by the American settlers themselves. Be that as it may, the act was a bold and a daring

one. One of the first acts of the new leader was to take possession of the military post of Sonora, where nine cannon and two hundred and fifty stand of arms fell into his hands. Leaving in charge of this place, with a guard of only fourteen men, Mr. William B. Ide, a gentleman of some courage and ability, he himself hastened to the valley of the Sacramento, where the great bulk of the American settlers were to be found, in order to gain them over to his side. He had not proceeded very far, when learning that Castro was meditating an attack on Sonora, he felt necessitated to return to the aid of the little garrison as speedily as possible. The immediate action taken by the local authorities, in attempting to drive Ide from his position, was hastened, if not induced, by an injudicious proclamation which that gentleman issued, while yet not in a position to maintain his authority.

On returning to Sonora, not content with defeating the plans of the local authorities, Fremont assumed a more decided attitude of defiance. In an assembly of American citizens held on the occasion, in which Fremont himself was made governor, the independence of the country was proclaimed, and war formally declared against Mexico. During the time that these events were transpiring, nothing had been known of the declaration of war between America and Mexico; nor, on the other hand, had any information reached the au-

thorities at Washington of the occurrences which had taken place in California. Meantime, though entirely unconscious of the actual necessity of their presence, an army was approaching which was destined to play an important part in the subjugation of the territory. For several years during the respective administrations of Tyler, Harrison and Van Buren, the advantages to the American people from the occupation of Oregon, California and New Spain were admitted by all. The commencement of hostilities with Mexico respecting the boundaries of Texas was deemed a favorable moment for advancing these requirements of government. Accordingly, in June of 1846, Colonel Kearney received instructions from government to proceed across the country from Fort Leavenworth, to take possession of Santa Fé, and thence to proceed to California. At the same time, Congress had given orders for the formation of a corps of mounted riflemen, the command of which was to be given to Fremont. And, as a further precaution, a regiment of volunteers, one thousand strong, was raised in New York for the same purpose, and placed under the command of Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson, by whose exertions they were principally enrolled. These, co-operating with the navy, it was thought would be sufficient to take possession of the country. Kearney's command amounted in all to sixteen hundred men.

On the seventh of July, three days after Fre-

mont issued his declaration of independence from Sonora, Commodore Sloat, then commanding the United States squadron in the Pacific, seized upon Monterey, and, like his predecessor, Jones, hoisted the American colors, this time permanently, and issued a proclamation to the inhabitants.

The day after Sloat raised the American flag at Monterey, the same was done at San Francisco by Montgomery, commander of the Portsmouth sloop-of-war. Fifteen days later, Sloat was replaced in command of the Pacific squadron by Commodore Robert F. Stockton, a man of a bold and determined will. The position of the Americans, at this moment, was not over encouraging. Few in numbers, aliens by birth and sentiment, and intensely disliked by the Mexican colonists for their bold and aggressive measures, they were regarded by all more as raiders and freebooters than as honorable opponents. To allow their country to pass into the hands of such men, and thus be governed by a number of adventurers, was the last thing the Californian inhabitants would admit of. Nor, indeed, did there seem very much difficulty at the moment of opposing the scheme; for in numbers they were vastly superior to their aggressors; while in the general knowledge of the country, in horsemanship and power of endurance, they had a decided advantage. The late annexation of Texas was also a strong motive urging them to a determined spirit of resistance, unless they pre-

ferred American to Mexican rule. The "Army of the West," under the command of General Kearney, which had started from Fort Leavenworth on the thirtieth of June, was not likely to arrive for some time. In fact, its movements were entirely uncertain, depending for its arrival in California upon the success it was likely to meet with in New Mexico. Under these circumstances, nothing but the boldest and most decisive measures were likely to ensure success. Any delay or irresolution, by which the weakness of the party might become known, would be fatal to the cause. Thus situated, the Californians being unaware of his actual strength, Stockton resolved to hazard the issue upon an open engagement. With only five hundred men, some of whom had been only recently enlisted, he determined to give battle to the Californian troops, amounting to fifteen hundred men, amongst whom was a body of cavalry, represented as one of the finest in the world.

The Mexican forces, at this time, were in possession of the town and pueblo of Los Angeles. Thither Stockton immediately hastened, to give battle. The riflemen, who had been enlisted only a short time previous—numbering one hundred and sixty—and under the united command of Fremont and Gillespie, were embarked for San Diego from Monterey, on the twenty-third of July. Their orders were to co-operate with the commander in his movement against the city. Los

Angeles is situated a short distance from San Diego in the interior. On the first of August, Stockton himself sailed for the scene of action. On his way, he landed at Santa Barbara, and took possession of it, leaving there a small detachment for its defence. On the sixth of August, he arrived at San Pedro, the nearest port to Los Angeles. Here he learned the strength and position of the enemy, and the disadvantages under which the troops he had forwarded under Fremont and Gillespie were laboring for want of horses. Nevertheless, he resolved upon pushing forward with all possible dispatch. With the exception of Fremont and Gillespie's men, his force was entirely a naval one, now turned into regular troops of the line, and consisting of three hundred and fifty sailors and marines. Six pieces of cannon, obtained from the merchant vessels then lying on the coast, constituted his entire artillery.

The news of his arrival was communicated without delay to the Mexicans, when, either through fear or strategy, desiring to learn his position, commissioners were dispatched to treat about peace. Suspecting what might be the real object of the embassy, the general took measures to impress the commissioners with the greatest idea of his strength. With this object, he kept his men at a distance, partly concealed, and formed into several bodies apart. The plan was eminently successful. He not only succeeded in concealing

his actual weakness, but even impressed the deputation with the most exaggerated ideas of his numbers. The terms offered by Castro he rejected immediately, and ordered the messengers to assure their commander that unless he disbanded his troops he would suffer the penalty. To this Castro replied in the following spirited manner: "I will not withhold any sacrifice to oppose your intentions; and if, through misfortune, the flag of the United States waves in California, it will not be by my acquiescence, nor by that of the last of my compatriots."

It was now clear that nothing but an appeal to the sword could determine the question. Fearing lest the enemy might become acquainted with the strength of his force, Stockton immediately hastened to the front. The distance from the coast to the town was only thirteen miles, but was rendered difficult on account of the enemy's skirmishers being constantly in view, and having had to drag the park of artillery by hand over the hills and through the passes. The day previous to starting, which was the eleventh of August, the American commander received another message from Castro, to the effect that if he marched upon the town, he would find it a grave for his men; to which Stockton answered in the following characteristic terms: "Tell the general, then, to have the bells ready to toll at eight o'clock in the morning, as I shall be there at that time." Faithful to his

promise, he was on the ground at the appointed hour; but Castro was not there—he had fled. Unmindful of his messages, and utterly despairing of his cause, though entirely superior to his adversary in everything but courage, he shamefully quitted his position, retired from the town, and even from the country, and took refuge in Sonora. The following day, the thirteenth of August, Stockton entered the town, issued a proclamation, and declared California an integral portion of the United States of America. Thus passed from under Mexican to American rule, that province which since has become so remarkable in the history of America, and which, if the past may be taken as an index of the future, will ultimately become one of the most important States of the Union.

Although California virtually became a portion of American territory from the moment that Stockton entered Los Angeles and issued his proclamation, the war was still carried on, with more or less interruption, for the next couple of years. At last, in 1848, a peace was concluded and a treaty entered into between the respective cabinets of Washington and Mexico, whereby the latter agreed to forfeit all claim for the future to Upper California, New Mexico and Texas. The boundary line was drawn from about the thirty-second parallel of latitude of the Rio Grande, westward along the southern limits of New Mexico till it meets

the Gila, down which it proceeds to its junction with the Colorado, and thence westward to the Pacific, where it terminated a few miles below San Diego. As a kind of compensation for this liberal cession of territory, though in point of fact possessed by America, the United States agreed to pay to the government of Mexico fifteen million dollars; as also to assume the liabilities for damages due by the latter to American citizens for the capture and destruction of vessels before and during the Texan war. In vain do we look for any reason assigned by America for seizing upon California, beyond the fact that the country was but poorly governed, that it was likely to be important as a State, and that if not annexed by America, it was sure before long to fall into other hands.

CHAPTER VIII.

APPOINTMENT OF THE FIRST BISHOP OF MONTEREY. — HIS DEATH. —
DISCOVERY OF GOLD. — EXCITEMENT. — RUSH TO THE COUNTRY. —
FIRST CLERGY THAT MINISTER TO THE IMMIGRANTS. — SISTERS OF
NOTRE DAME ARRIVE. — APPOINTMENT OF DR. ALEMANY. — YIELD
OF THE MINES. — HOW WORKED. — APPEARANCE OF SAN FRAN-
CISCO. — THE HOUNDS. — FIRST ATTEMPT AT GOVERNMENT.

FROM the annexation of California to the American Republic, the native Christian Church ceased to have a separate existence. The great bodies of immigrants which then poured into the country, attracted by the recent discovery of gold, entirely absorbed the old native congregations, and laid the foundation of that Catholic society which at present occupies such a prominent position on the coast.

As has been stated before, on the consolidation of the Mexican Republic, in 1835, the congress, of which Santa Anna became president, restored to the Catholic Church, by a formal act of the Legislature, the property belonging to the missions, of which it had been deprived in 1832. The same well-disposed congress, too, determined upon placing Upper and Lower California under the care of a resident bishop, whose presence, it was thought, would serve to advance the true interests of religion, at the same time that it might tend to

promote indirectly the authority of Government. The choice of the civil authorities, which was in favor of a Mexican, was favorably received by the sovereign Pontiff, and in 1840, Don Francisco Garcia Diego was appointed to the charge by his holiness, Gregory XVI. The salary accorded to the Bishop by congress was six thousand dollars a year. He was required to reside at San Diego, but for reasons afterward assigned, this resolution was altered, and he was permitted to fix his episcopal residence at the town of Santa Barbara, where he lived from the time of his appointment till his death, in 1846.

Right Rev. Dr. Garcia Diego, the first bishop of California, was a man of respectable talent and attainments, if we may judge from the positions he held among the members of his order. A Mexican by birth, he became a member of the order of St. Francis, wherein, like many of his brother Religious, he obtained a high reputation for learning and piety. Indeed, it is impossible not to be struck with the great ability and talent of many of the first Mexican missionaries. The numerous works they have left us on almost every subject, but especially on the ancient history of the country, are ample evidences of this. Even yet, the names of Torquemada, Herrera, Molina, Sahagun, Clavigero and a host of others, are well remembered and familiar to the literary world.

For several years, Father Diego had been pro-

fessor of theology in his convent in Mexico. In 1833, he was appointed commissary-prefect of the missions of Upper California, where he had been engaged at the time of his appointment as bishop. Having been born in the country, and intimately acquainted with the habits, manners and customs of the people, his appointment was regarded in the most favorable light, as respected the future prosperity of the missions; but, in consequence of the civil commotions at the time, his efforts were comparatively unavailing, and his exertions without profit.

On the sixteenth of December, 1841, intelligence arrived at Santa Barbara, that the bishop, with a party of several priests, teachers and novices, had arrived at San Diego from San Blas. The news was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy; guns were fired, flags hoisted, banners displayed, and rockets let off. The church bells rang out a merry peal, which was taken up and prolonged, by the band playing at intervals its choicest and most appropriate pieces. The enthusiasm of the people was nothing surprising, for under the most ordinary circumstances, the presence of a prelate would have been hailed with delight, while the appointment of a man so thoroughly known and appreciated by the community, was an additional motive for rejoicing. On the eleventh of January, 1842, the barque with the party on board anchored in the bay of Santa Bar-

bara. Then ensued a scene of which it would be difficult to give an adequate idea. With a common instinct of faith and devotion, the entire Christian community, with hardly an exception, immediately turned out and hastened to the beach, to pay their respects to the first bishop of the country.

At eleven o'clock, Dr. Diego went on shore, and was conducted by the civil and military authorities, amid the roar of cannon and the plaudits of the people, to a private residence. At four in the afternoon, he was escorted to the mission at some distance from the town, but before reaching there, the enthusiasm of the multitude became such, that they had the horses removed from the carriage, and drew it themselves. Thus, amid the unbounded enthusiasm of the people, the firing of guns and the sound of music, the Right Rev. Francis Garcia Diego, first bishop of the Californian Church, took possession of his diocese of Monterey, on the eleventh of January, 1842.

Among the first works contemplated by his lordship was the erection of a cathedral, episcopal residence, monastery, and a theological seminary, to provide for the wants of the diocese. The funds necessary for the erection of these works he expected to obtain from the government out of the funded property of the mission; but, as that was confiscated the same year, the project fell to the ground. By earnest representation, however,

he succeeded in obtaining, in 1844, a grant of thirty-five thousand acres of land, as a means for establishing and maintaining an institution of learning for the youth of the country. The land, which is situated at some distance from Santa Barbara, is known as the College Ranch, and is of considerable value. According to the provisions of the grant, a college was established by the Bishop at the old mission of Santa Inez, shortly before his death. This institution is still in existence, under the care of the Franciscans, who have also a still larger establishment at Santa Barbara. The revenue of the property being small, the directors are only able to admit a limited number of pupils, and even these are required to pay a nominal sum. The advantages accruing to the mission from the ranch are not such as might be reasonably expected; for, during the drought of the years 1863 and 1864, the greater part of the stock, consisting of sheep, horses and black cattle, perished for want of pasturage.

On the death of Bishop Garcia, which happened in 1846, the management of the estate passed into the hands of the Very Rev. Father Gonzales, by whom it was administered till 1850, when it passed under the charge of the Right Rev. Dr. Alemany, then appointed to the vacant see, by whom it has continued to be administered up to the present, for the united benefit of Upper and Lower California, as contemplated by the provisions of the grant.

As the property had been originally donated by government to the bishop of Monterey, for the benefit of both Californias, upon the division of the country into separate dioceses, it seemed more advisable to the ecclesiastical authorities to make a division of the estate, and thus place it more immediately under the control of the parties interested. To this end, an application was made to the sovereign Pontiff, and permission obtained to that effect, but lest any legal or technical difficulty might stand in the way, the consent of the American Government was also solicited and obtained for the same, yet up to the present, no action has been taken in the matter, and the property continues to be administered by his grace, the archbishop of San Francisco, for the common benefit of the three dioceses.

Sensitive of the great evil done to the Church in the confiscation of the pious fund, and feeling not a little the ill-treatment of the Religious, coupled with the threatening aspect of political affairs in general, the health of Bishop Diego began rapidly to decline, and became so entirely undermined that, at the commencement of 1846, before the annexation of the country by America, the venerable prelate resigned his spirit into the hands of his Creator, and was buried in the mission church of his order at Santa Barbara.

The government of the diocese then passed un-

der the control of the Very Rev. Father Gonzales, the present venerable superior of the Franciscans on this coast. He is the oldest missionary now in the country, having come to California in the palmy days of the missions, when civil and religious prosperity were everywhere to be seen; before the avarice and cupidity of government had altered the relations between the missionaries and their charge. But not the most unjustifiable acts on the part of the authorities could induce him to abandon his post, not even when necessitated to depend for food and raiment on his former attendants. And now, after a missionary career of near two generations, all devoted to the exclusive interests of the people, it may be truly said of him that while he represents the true characteristics of an apostle, he recalls most forcibly the spirit, zeal and devotion of that ancient body of Religious who first introduced religion into the country.

During the years 1846 and 1847, there had been considerable emigration into California. Several hundreds, if not thousands, had already located themselves in the country. As early as 1847, a weekly journal was published in the little town then known as Yerba Buena, (the good herb,) but since as San Francisco. It was not, however, for one year later that the great tide of emigration began to roll from the east.

On the nineteenth of January, 1848, a day ever memorable in the annals of this country, gold was

discovered for the first time in the American river. The announcement was received by the public as a harbinger of fortune. Every one saw in it the realization of his highest ambition. Day by day the anxiety and excitement increased, till nothing was thought of or regarded but the mines and their yield. Speculations and employments which till then were considered as lucrative and important, were now disregarded and abandoned for the advantages offered by the new and surprising discovery. The excitement was further increased by the announcement of Governor Mason, who visited the favored locality, and assured the community that all that was required to realize a fortune, was a pick, a shovel and a pan! for that many had even picked the gold from the crevices of the rocks in pieces of from one to six ounces. At the same time the important announcement was made of the discovery of quicksilver, a requisite so necessary in the working of the mines. The intense excitement of the people now knew no bounds. San Francisco, Santa Barbara, San Diego, and every other place along the coast where there were European inhabitants, were all but completely abandoned. Every one hurried rapidly to the front; even the very natives caught the excitement, and hastened with all speed to gather up the precious deposit by the handful!

Three months later, by the first of July, and mining operations were fairly begun. Men were

then obtaining on an average from one to three ounces of gold a day. Some were naturally more fortunate than their companions, for while some obtained only their hundreds others realized their thousands. Chance, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, seemed to determine every man's fortune. The place was shown where two men took out seventeen thousand dollars worth of the precious metal within a few days. In another locality an American, who employed a body of Indians at a liberal price, had at the end of a few weeks, as his net proceeds, as much as sixteen thousand dollars. A soldier on furlough turned into the work, and in a week realized fifteen hundred dollars. In fact such was the yield at that time that men who were making forty and fifty dollars a day were dissatisfied, and would change in hopes of striking a better claim.

The news of the extraordinary discovery soon reached the States. The people were at first unwilling to credit the account. The apparently exaggerated form in which the announcement was made caused them to doubt its reality. Amongst the journalists there were those who, to show their penetration and ability as public instructors, entirely discredited the statement and asserted that the people were entirely in error, for that the mineral was mica, not gold. When, however, some of the actual specimens began to arrive, and were exhibited through the country, the truth

began to be credited and the enthusiasm of the masses was roused. The feverish anxiety of the people was still further increased by the announcement of the directors of the Philadelphia mint to the effect that the specimens of Californian gold received in the country were valued at eighteen dollars five and a half cents to the ounce.

The question was not now about the reality, the richness and quality of the mines, but regarding the means of arriving in the country, for California was then a foreign land. No iron-bound line had yet united the east and west. Either the perils attending a journey of three thousand miles by land through an inhospitable region, inhabited only by savage Indians, and still more savage animals, and yet unmarked by the emigrant train, or the dangers to be encountered in a tedious voyage by sea, being necessitated to round the Horn, were the difficulties which presented themselves to the minds of the emigrants and caused a journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific to be regarded in those days as a matter of no ordinary moment.

But neither the dangers by land nor the perils by sea proved any impediment to the enthusiastic adventurous portion of the community leaving their homes, and seeking their fortunes in the newly discovered land of the west. Within a month or six weeks after the announcement was fully confirmed, of the great wealth of the Californian mines, hundreds of all classes and ranks in

society were on the route to the new El Dorado, already rich in imagination, and resolved to return within a year to the place of their birth. The company was, indeed, not unfrequently a strange and incongruous one. Doctors, lawyers, farmers, spendthrifts, blacklegs, broken-down speculators, *et hoc genus omne*; were not uncommonly associates on the same voyage. There were those, too, in the company on whose safety and success the hopes and aspirations of many were anxiously depending. The father of the family whose earnest and unceasing endeavors were only barely sufficient to earn a pittance for his charge, saw in the new field of discovery a certain and ready means of raising his family to opulence. The young lover went forth for a season to return speedily to the object of his affection with a competency sufficient for both during life. Then there was the youth of whom nothing could be made by the parent, the unhappy husband and the faithless partner for whom a departure from home meant a release from his matrimonial engagement.

Those who preferred coming by sea had to encounter not only the dangers common to a voyage of several months by water, but the much greater dangers and perils attendant on the character of the vessels in which they were necessitated to embark. This was a difficulty to which they found themselves exposed, from the fact, that, at the beginning there was no regular trade to the coast,

and all manner of craft had to be pressed into the service in order to meet the demand, so much so that it is marvelous to consider how so many were enabled to turn the cape and arrive safely in the country. Old, crazy, long-condemned whalers, petty river steamers, paltry brigantines and worthless corvettes were gotten ready and made to transport their human cargo over several thousand miles of sea. Many of these never returned to the Atlantic, but were profitably employed on the bay and the rivers of the country.

An improvement was soon made in this mode of communication. A company was formed, and vessels of tolerable pretensions advertised for sailing by the isthmus. The passengers were assured they would find vessels on the opposite coast, ready to transport them to the end of their journey; but, from want of a proper arrangement, the vessels were wanting, and the passengers detained. How far the officers were culpable in this, it is not necessary to say. Sufficient for our purpose, to state that what with the generally overcrowded state of the vessels, the toilsome passage of the isthmus, and the detention at Panama, the hopes of many were blasted, and instead of gold-fields and opulence, they found, on the contrary, only a tropical fever, and an untimely grave. Of this class there are now no means of determining the number; but it is not improbable that amid such a rush, several fell victims to the typhoid, indigenous to the marshes of the isthmus.

Those who ventured by land were generally more fortunate, unless, as happened in some cases, when they started too late, they suffered considerable inconvenience in crossing the snow-bound region of the Sierras. They had, however, the advantage, on arriving in the country, of not being necessitated to undertake an additional journey, as was requisite for those coming by sea, who, upon landing in San Francisco, had yet some hundreds of miles to proceed before arriving at the mines.

The numbers that thus poured into the country from the very outset, were of a very dissimilar, heterogeneous character. They were of all classes, conditions, nationalities and religions—Americans, Irish, English, Scotch, Germans, French, Italians and Swiss were among the number. Of Catholics there was a very considerable number, but scattered as they were through the country, and not permanently located in any particular locality, it was difficult to provide for them the comforts and blessings of religion. Under the circumstances, however, all that could be reasonably expected was accomplished.

As the Mexican Religious then in the country were required for the wants of the native population, and, moreover, being unacquainted with the various languages of the immigrants, aid had to be sought from a different quarter. It was obtained, in the first instance, from the neighboring territory of Oregon.

For several years, a body of clergy had been laboring in behalf of the settlers and employees of the Hudson Bay Company, west of the Rocky Mountains. In 1835, the Catholics on the Willamette River, applied through Dr. John McLoughlin for the services of some Catholic missionaries, to minister to their spiritual wants. For some time it was found impossible to comply with their petition, but in 1838, the Bishop of Quebec, in whose diocese all that section of the country west of the Rocky Mountains was, sent as missionaries to the whites, as also for the conversion of the natives, the Rev. F. N. Blanchet and Modest Demers, both subsequently raised to the episcopacy, the former to the Archbishopric of Oregon, in 1846, and the latter to the Vicariate Apostolic of Vancouver, in 1847.

On the twenty-fourth of November, 1838, Fathers Blanchet and Demers arrived at Vancouver, and immediately engaged in the work of the ministry, by establishing stations, and visiting the Americans and Indians of the country. For four years they labored unaided in the new field of their ministry, when they were joined by two others, Fathers Bolduc and Langlois. These were followed still later, in 1846, by Fathers Nobili, De Vos and Delavand, all of whom continued to labor among the natives and settlers, till the announcement of the discovery of gold in California withdrew the greater portion of their congre-

gations from the country. Previous to the arrival of the last-named Fathers, there had been considerable immigration from several of the western States, but especially from Missouri and Illinois, to that part of the country beyond the Rocky Mountains; so that, considering the numbers of the settlers, the inducements held out, and the apparently permanent character of the place as an agricultural district, it became a matter of consideration whether it would not be better to have a Bishop appointed to the charge. An application was accordingly made by the Canadian ecclesiastical authorities to his Holiness, Pius IX., who graciously acceded to the petition, and, in 1846, appointed to the new diocese, of which Oregon was to be the episcopate, Very Rev. F. N. Blanchet. The new charge comprised the whole of the State of Oregon, as far north as British Columbia, taking in on the south, part of the States of Montana, Idaho and Utah. These boundaries were afterwards limited, on the appointment of the Vicars Apostolic of Marysville and Idaho. Subsequently, in 1847, the Island of Vancouver and British Columbia were erected into another Vicariate Apostolic, to which Dr. Blanchet's companion, Father Demers, was appointed.

Upon the discovery of gold in California, the emigrants who had but recently settled in Oregon and Washington territories were attracted to the country; and that they might not be deprived of

the blessings of religion, some of the clergy of whom I have spoken above, followed them to the new scene of their labors. Thus, the first clergy to minister to the wants of the pioneer English-speaking catholics on the Californian coast were those from the neighboring diocese of Oregon. Among the first to arrive in the country were Fathers Langlois, Nobili and Accolti.

Up to this period, 1849, no successor had been appointed in the room of the late deceased prelate, Right Rev. Dr. Garcia Diego, and the ministration of the diocese was discharged by the Very Rev. Father Gonzales, who, on account of his unacquaintance with the language of the immigrants; and his unwillingness to quit the quiet retreat of his monastery, appointed as his representative, with vicarial powers, the Rev. Father Langlois, the present pastor of Half-Moon Bay. Father Langlois continued to discharge the office of vicar for some years, when for the attainment of a higher state of perfection, he resigned his charge and entered the order of St. Dominic.

From 1842, the Sisters of Notre Dame, from Belgium, had been settled in Oregon; but finding at the time of which I speak, that their services could be better employed in Upper California, they left their original mission, came to the country, and settled at the town of San José, where they have since succeeded in forming one of the finest institutions of learning for young ladies on the coast.

The appointment of a successor to Dr. Diego, which for some time had occupied the attention of the holy see, was at last determined. The person selected to fill the vacant see was the Very Rev. J. S. Alemany, provincial of the Dominican order in the State of Ohio. Dr. Alemany was born in the city of Vich, in Catalonia, Old Spain, in the year 1814. About the age of fifteen he entered the Dominican order, and made his primary studies in the convents of Trumpt and Garona. In 1837, he was ordained priest at Viterbo, in the Roman States, by Right Rev. Gaspar Pianetti, afterwards Cardinal, under the title of San Sixto.

During the year and a half he remained at Viterbo after his ordination, Father Alemany held the office of sub-master of novices. Subsequently, on his removal to Rome, he was appointed assistant to the pastor of the Minerva, which office he continued to discharge till 1841, when he volunteered for the North American missions. On his arrival in the country, he was sent to a house of the order in Ohio, but the then Bishop of Nashville, Right Rev. Richard Miles, having obtained his services, he was appointed, after a short residence at Nashville, to a separate charge in the city of Memphis. Here he continued to reside till 1847, when he was appointed provincial of the order in the State of Ohio. In the beginning of 1850, he left for Italy, in order to be present at the General Chapter to be held that year. His

presence in Rome seems to have attracted the attention of the authorities, for it was while residing there that the will of the Holy Father was communicated to him regarding his appointment to the vacant see. The Rev. Mr. Montgomery, cousin of the Hon. Zach. Montgomery, had been previously appointed, but refused to accept the charge. On the thirteenth June, 1850, Father Alemany was consecrated by Cardinal Franzoni, in the church of St. Carlo, at Rome. Immediately after he set out for his mission, bringing with him to the country the germs of two religious communities, in the persons of Mother Mary Goemare and Very Rev. Father Vilarrasa, both of the order of St. Dominic. These established their respective convents in the first instance at Monterey, but afterward changed to Benicia, on seeing the increase of population in that section of the country. There they have continued to reside up to the present, and the progress made in the interim may be judged from the fact that at present the united communities of both religious establishments numbers between forty and fifty members.

It is now proper to take a glance at the country in its civil capacity, and to mark the increase of population, and the progress in industry and wealth during the years 1848-49-50. At the beginning of the first mentioned year, the entire population of the city of San Francisco does not appear to have been more than one thousand.

According to the census then taken by the board of school trustees there were then in the city, five hundred and seventy-five male inhabitants, one hundred and seventy-seven female adults, and sixty children of ages capable of attending school. The number of infants not being given it may be fair to set down the entire population in that year, 1848, at one thousand, or thereabouts. The city then comprised only a couple of hundred buildings of all kinds.

For some time the number of inhabitants was not destined to increase, but rather to decrease. As has been remarked, upon the discovery of gold, all who were enabled, flocked to the favorite localities. Neither threats, persuasion nor inducement could retain them at their employment, or bind them to their engagements. The excitement of the moment changed all the relations of master and servant, employee and employed. The sailor deserted his ship, the soldier his barracks, the clerk his desk; and to such an extent was this being carried that the then governor of the State was necessitated to issue an order calling on the community to aid the authorities in preventing further desertion from the army and navy. But even this was insufficient and had but a trifling effect in checking the rush, for whenever an opportunity offered, engagements were forgotten and duties abandoned. In a word, like a pestilential distemper, avarice had seized upon all, and completely

thinned the ranks of the community. Within three months after the discovery was announced, San Francisco was all but abandoned. The only two journals then published on the coast, the "California" and the "Star," ceased to appear for want of employees. All had gone to the mines, nor was this to be wondered at considering the accounts every day arriving from the "diggings." There were statements to the effect that many were averaging from one to two hundred dollars a day. Others were said to be realizing from five to seven hundred, while two pieces of the valuable metal, one of four and the other of thirteen pounds weight, were among some of the earliest discoveries. These, of course, were the exception and not the rule. The great majority of the miners never realized anything like it—from fifteen to twenty-five and thirty dollars a day being the average estimated gains of each in the palmiest days of the diggings.

The unskilled and imperfect process adopted in the beginning in seeking the precious deposits, prevented the adventurers from realizing very considerable sums. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that if the first arrivals in the country had the knowledge and means of working the mines which their successors had, they would all to a man have been enabled to return to their homes with an ample independence for life. Even as it was the aggregate sum was very considerable, for within

the first couple of months after the work was commenced, gold dust to the amount of a quarter of a million of dollars was paid in San Francisco for provisions alone, while within the subsequent six or eight weeks the sum amounted to six hundred thousand dollars.

The only implements used at first by the miners were the pick, the shovel and the pan; and when these could not be procured, butcher-knives, pointed sticks, closely-woven willow baskets and old hats were used in their stead. The washing process was easily and rapidly accomplished. From the place where the gold was supposed to have accumulated a quantity of dirt was taken from the bed of the stream and cast into the pan, which, after being placed in the water, was gently shaken till all the superfluous matter had passed over the sides, the gold always descending to the bottom of the vessel as being the heaviest object. In this manner the search was conducted at first, and whenever any locality yielded only a poor or uncertain return the adventurers immediately abandoned the place and sought a more favored position.

After a little a more efficient and profitable method of working the claims was generally adopted. To the willow-woven basket, the pan and the bowl, succeeded the rocker or cradle, the Long Tom and the hydraulic appliances, but by this time the specially large deposits had been extracted and the gains were consequently but com-

paratively small. The prices of all kinds of provisions were at first in keeping with the profits of the miners. Meat and flour were four and five hundred per cent. beyond their ordinary value, and were not always easily obtained at that. Eggs sold at from one to three dollars each, spirits at from ten to forty dollars a quart, while for medicines we are assured that every prescription, from a pill to a purgative, cost from fifty to one hundred dollars and more.

Household utensils, articles of comfort and necessity, wearing apparel, and implements for working the mines, all ranged equally high. Common picks and shovels went from five to ten dollars each; wooden and tin bowls brought half that sum. Under such circumstances, it could not be expected that, after all, the gains of the miners would be so great. What was realized in one way was readily spent in another. And, entirely independent of the ordinary necessities and comforts of life, there were other and more manifold inducements for parting with their money.

In a state of society such as was then in existence in the country where the voice of religion and restraint was entirely unheard, great was the excess, and numerous the votaries of dissipation and debauchery. Frequently what was gained during the week was spent on the Sunday in the grog-shop or gambling saloon. An infatuation common to the time seemed to have got posses-

sion of the minds of the majority, that the mines were certain to last, and that no anxiety need be entertained regarding the future. Thus many lived for a time, oblivious of everything but present enjoyment, freely indulging in all the wild excesses common to their abnormal condition, rich to-day, poor to-morrow, till at length, the first rude shock of sickness began to rouse them from their false repose, and make them believe that a mistake was being made in not laying up something for the future.

In the autumn of 1848, in consequence of much previous exposure, unhealthy food and dissipation, fevers and dysentery broke out among the miners, and became alarmingly prevalent. To these numbers fell victims, and, unhappily, too, under the most deplorable circumstances, there being no minister of religion, in most cases, to administer to them the last rites of our holy religion. The nearest priests, then, to the mines, were those in the city of San Francisco; and, as no one, in those days, before stages and railways came into use, thought of sending several hundred miles for the services of a clergyman, several must have died without the consolation of religion. How many may have passed into eternity under such circumstances there are now no means of determining, but from the numbers then engaged in the mines, and the fatal character of the diseases, the list, it is to be feared, was considerable.

At this time, the wiser and farther seeing portion of the adventurers began to understand that, after all, the diggings, though yielding an ample return, were not the most desirable place to reside, nor probably the most lucrative to be found. The great stream of immigration then pouring into the country, and the apparently permanent character, at least for some time, of the richness of the mines, made it apparent that a city of no insignificant importance was sure to grow up on the coast. And as the claims of the city of San Francisco to such a position were already established and admitted by all, thither the eyes of the more thoughtful were anxiously directed. Accordingly, a reaction took place, so that while thousands were pouring into the country, and hastening onward to the mines, others, more thoughtful and sagacious, were returning therefrom, with the view of investing their gains in land and real estate in and around the then limits of the city. The number of those, however, who returned before the middle or end of 1849, was remarkably few; the excitement of the moment, the hope of quickly amassing a considerable fortune, and, above all, the really rich nature of the claims, prevented them from abandoning the work; but when the first period of success had been passed, and it became apparent that no extraordinary gains could be reasonably hoped for, for the future, then the reaction, of which I have spoken, began to set in,

in reality. Fortunate, too, for the parties who returned at that favorable moment, for by a judicious investment of the capital then at their command, they are now amongst the wealthiest of the commercial firms of the city. The reader may form an idea of the product of the mines at this period, from the fact that during the latter half of the year 1848, gold dust to the amount of two million dollars was exported from the coast. And so limited was all other species of currency, that gold became almost the exclusive circulating medium ; sixteen dollars an ounce being allowed for it in all business transactions; but at the customs only ten, with, however, the privilege of redeeming it within a reasonable time.

The appearance of the city now began to wear a livelier and more agreeable aspect. The abandonment and neglect to which it had been subjected for months had partially disappeared. The return of several of the adventurers to the old scenes of their employments created the change. In consequence, the revival of the lately discontinued journals was among the most notable events of the hour; a circumstance which was hailed by the people as an important advantage, as it enabled the public to learn with promptness and accuracy the important occurrences of the time. Both journals were subsequently united and brought out under the title of the "Star and California," which was continued till the beginning of 1849,

when it became known as the "Alta California." In the spring of this year, the first bodies of immigrants began to arrive from the States. In their eagerness to reach the scene of their ambition, only comparatively few remained in the city. Labor, in consequence, rose enormously high. Much work had to be done, and few were willing to engage in it without fabulous pay. The city had then to be laid out, the streets graded, the sidewalks planked, hills leveled, hollows filled, the bay piled, and dwellings erected. At the same time numerous vessels were constantly arriving at the wharves, or what answered as such, with valuable cargoes, but there were few to remove the commodities to their respective destinations. Under such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at that labor should have run extraordinarily high, averaging from seven to ten dollars a day, at the lowest, while the wages of mechanics were proportionately large, ranging between twenty and thirty.

These were, indeed, the golden days of the Pacific coast. Then California might be truly said to be the poor man's Paradise, for then every one was rich, and poverty unknown. Labor, too, was honored and esteemed. The trader, the merchant, the capitalist, the banker, the lawyer—every one, in a word, labored in those days; not, indeed, as at present, at their desks or in their counting-offices, but at duties and in capacities which now may be deemed menial and servile.

The appearance of what is at present the attractive, imposing part of the city, strangely contrasts with what it was at that period. A few hundred, or at best a few thousand, ill-fashioned, hastily-erected dwellings, then constituted all there was of a town. Market, Kearny and Montgomery streets were yet unbuilt on. All around, in every direction, supplying the places of dwellings, were to be seen numerous paltry structures erected by the immigrants, in the shape of canvas, blanket and bough-covered tents, to preserve them from the inclemency of the weather, till they started for the diggings.

The streets, which were yet unformed, were little better than moving sheets of the finest sand, yielding freely to the pressure of the passers-by, or blown in blinding clouds of dust, if the weather happened to be stormy; or, again, consisting only of a miry slough, whenever it had copiously rained. In the distance, on the other hand, the eye was greeted with the presence of a thousand craft of every dimension, from the tiny little bark to the imposing steamer. By the end of July of this year, 1849, as many as two hundred vessels, of all dimensions, and from various ports, were anchored in the bay. The population had by that time reached the considerable figure of five thousand, or more; and with an increase in the numbers came also an increase in dissipation, lawlessness and immorality. In a state of society where the provisions of law

had to a great measure to be framed, where every man regarded himself free, in the sense of his being accountable to none, little could be hoped for or expected from the people. We are not, accordingly astonished to learn that thefts, robberies and murders were of constant and almost daily occurrence. A body of desperate characters, known as the "Hounds," and consisting for the most part, if not entirely, of the disbanded troops of one of the regiments engaged in the annexation of the country, had been for some time in existence. This gang of desperate men, formed ostensibly for the purpose of defending themselves and the inhabitants from the violence of the more daring, was in reality only a body of practical thieves, whose livelihood was obtained by the plunder of the community. So that, while under the plea of guarding the inhabitants, by parading the streets as officers of the republic, they, in reality set all law and order at defiance, and used their self-constituted authority only as a shield for their crimes. For a time they continued unmolested in their nefarious proceedings, carrying fear and alarm into every family, attacking the tents and huts of the immigrants, invading stores, taverns and private residences, and everywhere carrying off everything valuable that fell within their reach. In fine, their excesses and depredations were carried to such an extent that the community aroused to a sense of its danger, formed a regular

force, seized upon several of the outlaws, and after a regular trial, convicted, and condemned them to the galleys for various terms of imprisonment. Thus, by the judicious and energetic action of the well-disposed and law-abiding portion of the inhabitants, the town was delivered within a little, from the social disorder which for months had infested it.

Order was further advanced at this period by the organization of a number of government officers for the regular discharge of business of State. Since the beginning of August of the preceding year when it became known that the country had been ceded to the American government, efforts were made to organize a competent and efficient method of administration. As Congress had taken no steps in the matter, it was deemed necessary, in consequence of the numerous excesses and murders everywhere committed through the country, to establish as a means of self-preservation, a provisional government, so that some legal protection could be had for the lives and properties of the more peaceful members of the community. Accordingly on the twenty-first and twenty-third of December, 1848, large, influential meetings were held in the city, at which it was resolved, that delegates to the number of five, be appointed, whose duty it would be to frame the rules of a constitution for the government of the country. The meeting of the delegates was fixed for the month

of March, in the town of San José, but another meeting of the people of that town fixed the assembly for the second of January.

Meantime the administration of justice was considerably embarrassed in San Francisco, and proceedings enacted by no means to the credit of the people. The election of members to the important position of town councilors for 1849, having been declared invalid in consequence of the votes of some unqualified persons, a new election had to be resorted to.⁹ But this resulting in favor of some of the lately appointed, then was to be witnessed the anomalous spectacle of three bodies—the old town council of 1848 and the two of 1849, claiming the exercise of authority and the government of the community. These, however, were all brought to resign their position in favor of a new body of officers to consist of fifteen councilors and three justices of the peace, who continued in office till the organization effected by brigadier-general Riley was carried into effect.

On the thirteenth of April, 1849, brigadier Riley arrived in the country and announced to the community his appointment to the civil and military administration of California by orders of the American government. An election for the nomination of the requisite officers of justice immediately followed, and resulted in the election of a judge, prefect, sub-prefect, alcalde, town council and delegates of convention to the number of five.

The chief magistrate, Mr. Geary, lost no time in issuing an address to the members of the council, calling on them for the necessary means for carrying on the public administration. From the address the reader may form an idea of the actual condition of the city at the time. "At this time," writes the official, "we are without a dollar in the public treasury, and it is to be feared the city is greatly in debt. You have neither an office for your magistrate *nor any other public edifice*. You are without a single police officer or watchman, and have not the means of confining a prisoner for an hour. Neither have you a place to shelter, while living, sick and unfortunate strangers who may be cast upon our shores, or to bury them when dead. Public improvements are unknown in San Francisco. In short, you are without a single requisite for the promotion of prosperity, for the protection of property, or for the maintenance of order."

Such was the condition of San Francisco only twenty-one years ago. How much it has improved since then, and what a contrast it presents at present, with its ample exchequer, numerous government officers, extensive commercial relations and vastly increased number of inhabitants, is thoroughly known to all.

CHAPTER IX.

INCREASE OF POPULATION IN SAN FRANCISCO. — FIRST CHURCH FOR THE EMIGRANTS. — CHOLERA BREAKS OUT. — SISTERS OF CHARITY ARRIVE. — DR. ALEMANY TRANSFERRED FROM MONTEREY TO SAN FRANCISCO. — FATHER GALLAGHER GOES TO EUROPE. — HE OBTAINS TWO RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES. — ESTABLISHMENT OF ST. THOMAS' SEMINARY. — SISTERS OF MERCY ARRIVE. — PREJUDICE AGAINST THEM.

DURING the first half of 1849, the population of San Francisco was very considerably increased. As many as fifteen thousand, it is thought, were added to the community from the first of January till the thirtieth of June. Of these only a very small proportion, not more, perhaps, than from two to three hundred were females. The arrivals, in the first instance, were chiefly Chilians, Mexicans and others from the Pacific border; but as the year advanced, great numbers began to pour in from the Atlantic States, from China and Europe. The average monthly number of immigrants by sea alone during the latter half of this year, was in the vicinity of four thousand or more; so that, by the end of the year, as many as thirty-five or forty thousand emigrants had landed in San Francisco; which, when added to some thirty thousand who were supposed to have crossed the plains, made the whole number who poured into the country during 1849, as high as sixty-five or sev-

enty thousand souls. But as the majority of these immediately spread through the country, the population of the city remained at the end of the year only between twenty and twenty-five thousand, chiefly males and adults. Of this considerable number one half were probably Catholics.

It was, then, to provide for the wants of this numerous flock of different nationalities, speaking different tongues and living widely apart, that the newly-appointed bishop of Monterey was called upon to make the necessary provision. A more embarrassing and onerous position does not ordinarily fall to the lot of a newly-appointed prelate. Destitute, to a great extent, of the necessary means for working the mission, having only a very limited number of clergy, no sacred edifices, no charitable institutions, and what was still worse, no means for erecting the same, Dr. Alemany may be said to have taken charge of his large and rapidly increasing flock under very exceptional and discouraging circumstances. How far he succeeded in his charge, aided by a devoted clergy and the generous liberality of a faithful people, the reader will be able to judge by the sequel.

The first Catholic church erected in the city of San Francisco for the use of the immigrants, was a petty wooden shanty, built in the early part of 1849, on the site of the present substantial church of St. Francis, Vallejo street. Mass had been previously celebrated in a room gotten up for the pur-

pose, by the kindness of lieutenant, now inspector-general, Hardy, of the United States service, who was a convert to our holy religion. The first humble edifice, which was capable of accommodating only a very limited number of worshipers, gave place, before long, to a larger and more substantial erection, which in time was replaced by the present excellent building.

His lordship, Right Rev. Dr. Alemany, arrived in California, in the spring of 1850, and took up his residence at Monterey, where his see had been fixed. His first efforts were directed to procuring a sufficient number of clergy for the requirements of the people. In this he was but partially successful at the outset. The light in which California was then regarded in Europe, and even in the States, the great distance of the journey, the newness of the place, and the difficulties and discomforts sure to be encountered, prevented many from offering their services. As it was, however, the people were not entirely deprived of all spiritual comfort. In the autumn of this year, four missionaries, on their way to the diocese of Oregon, arrived on the coast. As the mission was then in much need of their services, they consented to remain for a little, and during their stay rendered most important services to religion. Among these reverend clergy was the present vicar-general of the archdiocese, whose labors in administering to the sick and the dying, during an epidemic which

occurred at this time, deserve the highest commendation.

The city by this time had become considerably improved. New buildings were erected, streets opened and wharves formed. The tents and shanties had either entirely disappeared, or were only to be seen in the suburbs. Commerce had considerably advanced, and everything looked prosperous; but, for the moment, the public security was rudely disturbed. In October of 1850, the cholera for the first time appeared in San Francisco. The epidemic was introduced into the country by the immigrants from the States. During the years 1848 and 1849 it had been prevalent in New York and the other great cities of the East, and many, while crossing the plains, fell victims to it in the beginning of '50. Its ravages in San Francisco, though not the most widespread, were sufficient to cause considerable alarm and uneasiness to the community. The average number of deaths from its effects during the three months of October, November and December, may be reasonably estimated at between four and five hundred.

As there were then only two priests in the city, the present Very Rev. James Croke and Very Rev. F. Langlois, the duty was remarkably trying. For days they had to be continually at their post administering the last sacraments to the sufferers. That some under such circumstances departed this

life without the comforts of religion there is every reason to fear, but from the devoted attentions of the missionaries their numbers were probably few. The epidemic also extended its ravages to other parts of the country—Sacramento in particular, where one of the missionaries, Rev. Father Anderson, fell a victim to its deadly effects.

The increase in the population during the year 1850, must have been from fifty to sixty thousand, of all classes. Thirty-six thousand arrived by sea alone, and as half this number was probably Catholic, the necessity of an additional number of clergy became more and more urgent. For the moment the whole wants of the people could not be supplied, nor, indeed, it must be admitted, were all in a disposition to attend to the voice of religion. In general, the emigrants had come to the country with only one object in view—the acquisition of wealth, and in the great struggle therefor, many unhappily forgot for the moment their duties to God, or at least became largely indifferent to the claims of religion. Yet this was not a reason why they should be forgotten, on the contrary, it became a still stronger motive why the practice of religion should be placed within their reach.

In 1851 the mission received an addition to its ranks, in the persons of the Rev. Eugene O'Connell and Rev. Father Vincent, then a scholastic of the Dominican Order. The foundation of the Church was now solidly laid; time and hands were

alone necessary to raise the superstructure and give it that finish and development which it has since received.

The year 1852 opened on the mission under the most favorable auspices. From this dates the first real progress of the diocese and the advent of some of those missionaries whose lives have been so pre-eminently serviceable to religion in these parts. In the Spring of this year, Doctor (now archbishop) Alemany left for the States in order to be present at the first plenary council of Baltimore. While attending the council he succeeded in obtaining the services of the Rev. H. P. Gallagher, whose name has since become so intimately connected with the progress of religion on this coast. Gifted with a solid judgment, much business capacity and a deep sense of religion, Father Gallagher became an invaluable aid to the bishop at this juncture.

During his sojourn in the States, Dr. Alemany was further successful in obtaining for his diocese the services of a religious community of females, the Sisters of Charity. The parent house of this order in the United States had been settled for some time at Emitsburgh, Maryland. Though not entirely sufficient for all demands made upon them in the States, at the earnest solicitation of the bishop, they consented to send a few of the community to the Californian mission. On the seventeenth June, 1852, they started by sea for the new

field of their labors. The voyage was one of unusual severity. It was attended by a variety of inconveniences, privations and hardships, amongst which may be numbered the inclemency of the weather, sickness and a want of the proper accommodations. While crossing the isthmus two of their number died from exhaustion and exposure. Continuing their journey the others arrived safely in the country on the eighteenth August, 1852, having thus the honor of being the third religious community of females that landed on the Pacific coast for the purpose of advancing the cause of religion and humanity. On the way they even found an opportunity of exercising the mission on which they had started. A child, whose mother had died from cholera during the voyage, was adopted by them and brought to the mission, so that in reality before they landed on the coast they began the exercise of that charity for which their community is so remarkable all over the world.

The special object of the Sisters of Charity, as the reader must be aware, is the care and protection of the orphan. For this they were instituted by St. Vincent de Paul. Their presence in San Francisco was demanded at the time for the following reason: The cholera, of which I have spoken as having raged in the city at the end of 1850, left on the hands of the community several destitute orphans. Of these a considerable number were Catholic. A meeting of the Catholic in-

habitants was accordingly held early in 1851 for the purpose of providing for those destitute children. At the preliminary meeting it was agreed to enter upon arrangements for establishing an orphan asylum—a free school and infirmary, the management of which should be entrusted to the care of the Sisters of Charity. A month later the project assumed a practical shape in the formation of an association established under the title of the “Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum and Free School Association of San Francisco.” The duties of the society then were to furnish the means requisite for maintaining the institutes, leaving their management entirely in the hands of the Religious. The organization itself was to be composed of a president, two vice-presidents, a treasurer, secretary, board of managers and members. At the second meeting, which took place on the twenty-third March, 1851, Mr. John A. McGlynn was appointed president. Three months later Messrs. John Sullivan, Timothy Murphy and Jasper O’Farrell donated to the bishop for the use of a Catholic orphanage or other religious purpose, one half of a one hundred vara lot situated on Market street, where the present asylum now stands. A little wooden building was immediately erected on the donated lot, and answered for some time the purposes of a school. A temporary chapel was also constructed and served as a place of worship till the old building, lately vacated for the new St. Patrick’s on Mission street, was opened.

The society for the providing of funds continued its praiseworthy labors till 1857, when the institution, no longer requiring its services, it was formally dissolved and ceased to exist. The benefits conferred by the organization on religion and humanity during the six years of its existence, were such as to demand that the names of the more prominent members be placed upon record. From its establishment in 1851 to its dissolution in 1857, the following gentlemen acted alternately as presidents: Messrs. John A. McGlynn, Charles D. Carter and Philip A. Roach.

On arriving in San Francisco, the Sisters were received by the Rev. Father Maginnis, and took charge of the orphans collected by the pious care and solicitude of the society referred to. A little time only was necessary to make the accommodations at their disposal too limited for their numbers. An effort was accordingly made in their behalf by the clergy and laity, which resulted in the erection, in 1855, at a cost of forty-five thousand dollars, of the present brick building adjoining St. Patrick's. This building was at that period the principal edifice in the locality ; it rose in fine proportions and striking contrast above all the surrounding dwellings, and was justly regarded with pride by the then Catholic community. The appropriate name given it by the founder, "The Orphan's Home," unmistakably designated the object to which it was applied.

The staff of the community was now increased by the arrival of five additional Sisters from the parent home at Emitsburgh. The accession was of the greatest importance, for another or second asylum was already contemplated by the ecclesiastical authorities. Moved by a laudable desire of providing for the moral and intellectual culture of the Catholic youth in the vicinity of San Rafael, once the site of a flourishing mission in the time of the Fathers, Mr. Timothy Murphy, whose name has been already mentioned in connection with the city asylum, donated to the Church for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a school, three hundred acres of land in Marin County. The charge of establishing and conducting the school, was entrusted by the bishop to the Sisters of Charity, as the reader may see from the following:

“St. Vincent’s Seminary, Las Gallinas, near San Rafael, Marin County, California, A. D., 1855, January 1st.

“The Sisters of Charity of this city of San Francisco, California, are appointed to take charge of the School of St. Vincent, at Las Gallinas, Marin Co., California, to carry out the intentions of Mr. Timothy Murphy.

“† JOSEPH S. ALEMANY,
“Archbishop of San Francisco.”

The accompanying extract from the register of the Institution, in the Sister Superior’s hand, tells of the commencement of the work:

“The Sisters of Charity from St. Joseph’s House, Emitsburgh, Maryland, whose mother-house is in Paris, founded a branch of their order in Las Gallinas, on a tract of land donated to the Most Rev. Archbishop Alemany by Don Timothy Murphy.

“The Sisters erected a wooden building, the cost of which amounted to five thousand dollars. Sister M. Corsina McRey, Donna Barbara, Miss Glover and four children, took possession of it, January seventh, 1855, and on the same day opened a school for the maintenance and education of children in the neighboring district.

“The above institution we organized under the name of St. Vincent’s Seminary. Subsequent to the above-mentioned period, we added other improvements, viz., fencing, etc.

“SISTER FRANCIS McENNIS,

“Directress of St. Vincent’s.”

By the foregoing the reader is put in possession of the origin of the Catholic institution of San Rafael, of which we shall speak more at large in a subsequent page. For a year the Sisters remained in charge of the school, but desirous of concentrating their efforts in the city, they resigned the appointment in favor of a secular priest, Rev. Father Maurice.

That part of the community that remained in the city, in addition to the care of the orphans, conducted also a day school for the children of the

locality. Their success in this particular branch of their vocation was such, that, in 1857, they were necessitated to erect an additional building, that at present known as St. Vincent's School, on Jessie street. There they had a wider scope for their exertions. The little ones who hitherto remained entirely at home, or received instruction at Protestant hands, now repaired to the Sisters, and learned, together with those branches of secular instruction requisite for their condition in life, those principles of religion and morality which alone are to be learned from Catholic sources.

The number of orphans and pupils still increasing, the Sisters, in 1861, purchased several acres of land in the vicinity of the city, at Silver Terrace, where they erected another asylum, dedicated to the great patriarch, St. Joseph. At first, only a limited wooden building was constructed; but the requirements becoming pressing, and the benevolence of the work being generally acknowledged, the public again came to their aid, and enabled them to make considerable improvements and additions, till at present, one hundred and fifty destitute orphans find a home with these Sisters. In 1866, another considerable building was opened in the city for a like purpose, but even this was shortly found insufficient for the numbers of homeless, parentless little ones. In order, then, to meet every requirement, an institution of noble dimensions, capable of affording accommodations to from

two to three thousand orphans, was begun and is yet in course of erection, without the city, at Hunter's Point. This building, when completed, will be probably the finest public edifice in or around San Francisco. Built on an eminence to the west of the city, it has the advantage of enjoying a commanding view of the bay and the country in every direction. In a sanitary point, it is not probably to be excelled, its only objectionable feature being its too unfavorable exposure to the westerly breezes; but this, though less desirable than might be ambitioned, will not, it is thought, prove prejudicial to the health of the inmates. The entire cost of the building when completed, will probably reach the considerable sum of a quarter of a million of dollars. The source whence this money is to be derived, is the sale of the property spoken of above, as donated to the orphans in the city; so that, by reason of this liberal and munificent gift, the names of Messrs. Jasper O'Farrell, John Sullivan and Timothy Murphy become intimately connected with one of the noblest institutions of charity on the Pacific coast of America.

With just and legitimate pride the Catholics of the archdiocese point to this and other kindred erections as the result of their own liberality joined to the noble and philanthropic exertions of our faithful Religious in behalf of abandoned, suffering humanity. And it is to be hoped that as the doors

of this most benevolent institute—the home of the fatherless—will be open to all from every part of the country without any distinction of class or creed, its claims will not be forgotten, for the cause of the orphan is the cause of religion—the cause of God.

Upon the retirement of the Sisters of Charity from St. Vincent's school in 1855, the care of the institution, as has been remarked, passed into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Maurice, by whom it was administered for the two subsequent years. On its transfer from the Sisters, its original name was altered from that of St. Vincent to St. Rafael, by which it has since continued to be known.

In 1857 Father Maurice was succeeded in his office by Father Auger, the present pastor of Suisun, who was succeeded a year later by the Rev. (now Right Rev.) Dr. Lootens, bishop of Idaho. During the incumbency of Father Lootens, some improvement was effected, though not entirely all that could be desired in consequence of an absence of the necessary means. The pastoral duties of the Rev. Father, too, which were then very extensive, prevented him from devoting that attention to the institution which its requirement demanded. Under the circumstances, however, a little was done. A pretty little church erected at a cost of three thousand dollars, and capable of accommodating one hundred persons, with additions to the original building at a cost of five

thousand more, are to be attributed to the zeal and exertions of that director. But it was not till it passed under the charge of the present superior, Rev. Father Birmingham, that the character of the institution was raised to its actual satisfactory standard. Father Birmingham took charge in 1868, and since then it is only just to acknowledge that the most satisfactory and gratifying results have been witnessed. Indeed, so carefully and satisfactorily is the institute managed at present that it is now a pride and an honor to the community.

Zealous in the cause of suffering humanity, the Rev. Father has left nothing undone to provide for the wants and requirements of the little ones entrusted to his care. Already he has expended on the erection and enlargement of buildings and other general improvements, between twenty and thirty thousand dollars. But not even this, though a considerable outlay, suffices for all the requirements. To make the place an entirely satisfactory institute, fifty or sixty thousand dollars additional are needed for building purposes. The number of boys at present in the asylum is over two hundred. The interior management is in part conducted by Religieuse of the order of St. Dominic. To these Father Birmingham is largely indebted for the admirable order and cleanliness that reign in the institute. Were there sufficient accommodations and means of support a much larger num-

ber of children could be obtained, and considering the very praiseworthy nature of the charity—the protection of the orphan—it is to be hoped that the charitable public will direct their attention more to its interests in future, especially as a fund of only fifty or a hundred thousand dollars would be needed to raise the necessary buildings, where all would be able to find a comfortable and hospitable home.

The present annual cost of the institution, which is conducted on the most economical scale, is between eighteen and twenty thousand dollars, one portion of which is raised by an annual fair, and the remainder supplied by his Grace from his limited means. The location is admirably adapted to an institution of the kind. Situated at a short distance from the town of San Rafael, whither there is daily steamer communication from San Francisco, it has all the advantages of an excellent country climate and ready access to the city. The facilities will be further enhanced on the completion of the San Francisco and Petaluma railroad, which will pass close to the asylum. Attached to the institute are one thousand acres of land, but the greater part being only a mountain tract, the advantages derived are not so great.

In the vicinity are a few scattered families of native Christians, descendants of the former inhabitants of the old missions. They live like their unconverted brethren by fishing and hunting and

laboring for the whites. Their language is a mixture of Spanish and the old vernacular; during life they pay little attention to religion, but at the moment of death they are careful to call for the services of a priest.

The rapid increase in the Catholic population during the two years immediately following the discovery of gold, and especially the extent over which the people were scattered, demanded, towards the beginning of 1852, the services of an additional prelate. A representation to this effect having been made to the proper authority, the country was divided, and San Francisco created into an archdiocese, with Monterey and Los Angeles as suffragan. The coast boundary of the former was drawn from Santa Cruz town northward as far as the forty-second degree of latitude, a distance of about one thousand miles. On the east it was bounded by New Mexico, Kansas and Nebraska. The country south from Santa Cruz to the Mexican border, or Lower California, formed the limits of the Monterey and Los Angeles See. Later on, in 1856, the Mexican government was desirous of obtaining a bishop for Lower California, and solicited the acceptance of the Very Rev. Father Gonzales, but he having declined, no further efforts were made by the government, and that section of the country remained as before under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Sonora, whose residence is at Culiacan.

To the newly-founded archdiocese of San Francisco, Dr. Alemany was transferred in the month of July, 1853. In the following year, Right Rev Dr. Amat, succeeded to the bishopric of Monterey and Los Angeles.

On the arrival of the archbishop, the Rev. Father Gallagher, of whom mention has been made before, was deputed by his grace to be the bearer of the Pallium from the Eternal City. His visit to Europe was also intended to be otherwise advantageous to the mission. The rapidly increasing population of the country, and the certainty that before long its numbers would be very considerably increased, made it a matter of imperative necessity to think of establishing additional religious communities, whose duties it would be to attend to the instruction of youth and the care of the infirm. Even then, although as we have seen, the Sisters of Charity were already established in the city, numbers of children were either not receiving instruction, or obtaining it from objectionable sources.

In the discharge of his commission, Father Gallagher succeeded in obtaining the services of two religious communities—Nuns of the Presentation order and Sisters of Mercy. These were the pioneer Religious of these two highly-prized orders, whose labors have since been attended with such remarkable success on this coast. We shall first speak of those of the presentation order. After a

tedious voyage of several months, they arrived in California on the thirteenth November, 1854. Not finding any establishment prepared for their reception, they suffered for a time no little inconvenience, but sustained by the kind and encouraging words of the archbishop, they cheerfully entered on the object of their mission—faced the difficulties before them—and before long had the happiness and consolation to know that their mission was a success. In December, a few weeks after their arrival, they opened a day-school in an humble little building, where gratuitous education was given to the children of the poorer classes in the community. The school was rapidly filled, even to inconvenience, but yet the Sisters, seeing the great spiritual want, were unwilling to refuse any of the applicants, trusting to the divine Providence to enable them to erect within a little a more suitable building. In this their hopes were not illusory. A generous ecclesiastic, the present pastor of Petaluma, was the first to come to their aid. With a generosity and zeal worthy of the highest commendation, he donated to the Sisters fifteen hundred dollars, which he had received from the city authorities for his services in the educational department. This was speedily increased by other donations from friends of the poor, until at length a sum sufficient to erect the present convent on Powell street, a building eighty-four by forty-five feet, was collected. The entire

cost of this building, with the additions and school subsequently erected, amounted in all to seventy thousand dollars, a sum by no means inconsiderable, even in the populous, influential city of San Francisco.

As soon as the beneficial effects of the Sisters' exertions began to be generally known and appreciated, several interested friends of the institution urged upon them the advisability of charging a nominal sum for their pupils; but this they promptly and generously refused, preferring to suffer any or every inconvenience rather than depart in the smallest from the rule of their order. For the services of the poor they had entered religion and made a sacrifice of their time and their talents. For this they abandoned their country, home and friends, and landed penniless and friendless on the shores of the Pacific, then amongst the most distant and arduous missions of the Church; and, although trials and privations should happen to be their portion, and have to be encountered, they trusted for all things for a prosperous issue in the providence of Him who is the Father of the poor and the protector of the virtuous. Their confidence was not without its reward, for, while new friends and old hastened to their aid in supplying the necessary means of support, they received, in the reformed habits of the children, and not unfrequently in those of the parents, many of whom were led to a practice of religion by the ex-

ample for their offspring, the highest object of their ambition.

The number of pupils constantly increasing, it became necessary within a couple of years to think of extending the sphere of their action. But as they were entirely destitute of means, they had again to appeal to the generosity of the public. Their application was not made without profit. A number of generous Catholic gentlemen, having subscribed the requisite sum, a new school was erected, in connection with the convent lately referred to, where seven hundred children were admitted to a gratuitous education.

Nine years later, another convent and school, those on Taylor and Ellis streets, were begun and completed, at a cost of seventy-five thousand dollars. These are also free schools, and have an average attendance of nine hundred pupils.

On his return from Europe, Rev. Father Gallagher brought with him, together with the Religious communities referred to, some priests and students. With the latter as a commencement, a seminary, under the title of St. Thomas, for the education of clergy for the diocese, was established by his Grace, the Archbishop, at the old Mission Dolores. The difficulty in obtaining at the time the requisite number of clergy from Europe, prompted the establishment of the institute; and although it did not entirely fulfill the anticipations of the founders, the few that have passed

through its halls have done good service to religion, and proven themselves pious, active and devoted priests.

The first president of this diocesan seminary was the present bishop of Marysville or Grass Valley, whose name has already occurred in these pages. Before the establishment of the institute, Dr. O'Connell was president and professor in the College of Santa Ynez, near Santa Barbara, whence he was called to the charge of St. Thomas', as being the most qualified and experienced in the training of youth for the ecclesiastical state. Here he continued to labor till his departure for Ireland, whither he returned in 1855, to occupy his former position as one of the directors of the missionary college of All Hallows. He was succeeded by Rev. Father Carroll, who continued president till his death, when the management of the institute passed into the hands of Father Prendergast, who remained in charge till his appointment as assistant pastor to the Cathedral, from which date the seminary has ceased to exist.

The same year that witnessed the establishment of St. Thomas's seminary also beheld the dedication of the new cathedral on California and Dupont streets. The building, which is of the gothic order, is a commodious and handsome structure, capable of affording accommodation to about fifteen hundred persons. The foundation stone was laid on the seventeenth of July on the pre-

ceding year, amid a large concourse of people, and the opening services held on the twenty-fifth December, 1854, when the building was solemnly dedicated to the worship of the Almighty, under the patronage of the blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God. Attached to the cathedral is the archiepiscopal residence, a handsome, imposing structure.

The second body of Religious who came to the country at this time were, as we have mentioned, the Sisters of Mercy. They were eight in number, five professed Sisters and three Novices. From the very beginning the protecting hand of Providence seemed to have guarded them. On the eighth September, 1854, they left Kinsale for Dublin, where they were immediately to take shipping for New York. They had determined upon sailing in the "Arctic" then leaving the port, but by a most fortunate circumstance in not being able to obtain the necessary accommodation on board, they were necessitated to await the next vessel. The delay saved them their lives, for the "Arctic" and her passengers were lost while crossing the Atlantic.

Their voyage from Ireland to California was as agreeable as they could have reasonably expected; not such, however, the reception they met with from a portion of the inhabitants of San Francisco, on their landing. The spirit of Protestantism was not then exactly what it is now. In-

tolerance and anti-Catholic prejudice, those banes of society seemed to have taken a large hold on men's minds in those days. One would, indeed, have supposed that their character as ladies, independent entirely of their religious profession as teachers of the ignorant and guardians of the poor, would have shielded them from the gross and vituperative aspersions of the malevolent. But such was not the case. The spirit of know-nothingism was abroad, and hence the arrival of a number of Catholic Religions was the occasion for a display of anti-Catholic feeling, to which we are sorry it is our duty to be obliged to refer.

The day after the Sisters had landed, a succurrulous communication, under the heading of "Carried Past the Port," appeared in one of the Protestant papers, improperly called the "Christian Advocate." This was followed by others of a similar nature, in which the writer dealt largely in abuse of Catholicity, but especially of the Religious. Meantime, however, the Sisters took no notice of the bitter invectives. Trusting to the purity of their motives and the entirely charitable nature of their vocation, they believed that as soon as the Protestant community would learn the tenor of their lives and the true end of their institute, prejudice would be disarmed and bigotry removed. In this they were not mistaken.

Within a month after their arrival they obtained permission to visit and tend the sick and dying

in the city and county hospital. For a time their labors passed comparatively unnoticed, but when in the autumn, the cholera appeared, their noble and devoted attentions to the sufferers elicited the highest eulogium from all but the utterly intolerant portion of the community. In an article of that date, the editor of the "Daily Times" thus speaks of their charitable endeavors: "We visited yesterday the patients in the State marine hospital; a more horrible and ghastly sight we have seldom witnessed. In the midst of this scene of sorrow, pain, anguish and danger, were some four or five ministering angels, who disregarded everything to render aid to their distressed fellow-creatures. The Sisters of Mercy, rightly named, whose convent is immediately opposite the hospital, as soon as they learned the state of things, hurried to offer their services. They did not stop to inquire whether the poor sufferers were Protestants or Catholics, Americans or foreigners, but with the noblest devotion applied themselves to their relief. One Sister would be seen bathing the limbs of a sufferer, another chafing the extremities, and the third applying the usual remedies for the disease, while others with a pitying face were calming the fears of those who were supposed to be dying. The idea of danger never seemed to occur to these noble women. In the performance of the vows of their order they heeded nothing of the kind. If any of the lives of the unfortunate are

saved they will in a great measure owe their preservation to those ladies."

Shortly after this, on the sixteenth of the same month, the entire care and management of the hospital was handed over to the Sisters by the city authorities. In the document conveying the charge to the Religious was the following paragraph: "That from and after the twenty-second day of October, 1855, the Sisters of Mercy, known to this community as philanthropists, who refuse all pecuniary reward for their self-sacrificing devotion to the care of the sick and destitute, shall have charge of and provide for the care and maintenance of the indigent sick of the county of San Francisco," etc.

Eight days after the Sisters entered on their charge. The light in which the arrangement was viewed by a portion of the Protestant community was most favorable and gratifying to them. The editor of the "Sun" spoke of them in an editorial in the most complimentary manner. There was, however, an illiberal party in the community to whom the action of the civil authorities gave the greatest displeasure. These, we are sorry to say, like the writers in the "Advocate," hesitated not to pour out the most unmitigated calumnies against the holy Religious. A few months after entering on their charitable mission, a series of slanderous articles began to appear in the Protestant journals, but especially in the pages of the

"Bulletin," calling into question the entire unfitness and inability of the Sisters to manage the Institute. The bold and positive manner in which the assertions were made, had the effect of shaking the faith and confidence of many. They were charged not only with incompetency and inability, but with inhumanity, partiality and robbery. To rebut such atrocious assertions, it was thought that the most effective and honorable course, under the circumstances, would be to call for a public investigation by the civil authorities. The grand jury, accordingly, in compliance with the Sisters' desire, made an examination of the hospital, and thoroughly exonerated them from all the charges made against them by their enemies. The report of the commissioners was published in the "Herald" of that date, and elicited the most complimentary remarks. It was also followed by several letters from private individuals, attesting to the zeal, devotion and capability of the Religious.

CHAPTER X.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ST. MARY'S HOSPITAL.—INFLUENCE OF THE SISTERS' LIVES ON THE PATIENTS.—CONVERSIONS.—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MAGDALEN ASYLUM.—REFORMATION OF THE PENITENTS.—THE SISTERS TAKE CHARGE OF THE PEST HOUSE.—CONVERSIONS.—THE SISTERS ATTEND THE JAIL.—THEIR SUCCESS IN REFORMING THE CULPRITS.

THE justification of the Sisters by the report of the grand jury, and the letters of private individuals, completely silenced their enemies, and prevented their being subjected to further attack by the hostile members of the press. Obstacles, however, were thrown in their way, which eventually necessitated them to resign the management of the hospital. For several months the authorities neglected furnishing the means requisite for meeting the necessary expenses. This proving too heavy a burden, they were reluctantly obliged to resign charge of the Institute. An effort was then made to get up for them an establishment of their own, where, without fear of incurring the odium of party, they might be able to exercise their holy vocation in behalf of suffering humanity. To this end, his Grace, the Archbishop, commissioned the Rev. Father King, whose name will long be remembered by Catholics in and around San Francisco, to collect funds for the contemplated object. The Sisters at

the same time issued an address of their own, explaining the nature and object of their institute, as an inducement to the charitable to subscribe. The answer made by the public to the appeal, was the subscription, within three months, of six thousand six hundred dollars. Of this, Father King collected close on three thousand, to which he would have added very considerably, only being prevented by sickness from continuing his charitable mission. With the moneys thus subscribed by a generous public, the erection of a Catholic hospital was immediately begun, which, when completed, must have cost close on one hundred thousand dollars. It was placed under the protection of the Blessed Virgin, being named St. Mary's Hospital. Thither the community retired in 1856, where they have since continued to exercise with unfailing attention the duties of their holy vocation.

The very important advantages resulting from the ministration of the Religious are of a two-fold character; they affect the soul as well as the body. Without at all obtruding their religious convictions on those entrusted to their charge, the simple example of their lives and their attention to the duties of their state, have awakened in many a sense of religion, and even effected the conversion of several. A few of the more notable cases will not be uninteresting to the reader.

During their charge of the city and county hos-

pital, there happened to be among the patients a man named William Johnson, an American Protestant. Near to Johnson, in the same ward, was another patient afflicted with a virulent ulcer which emitted a most disagreeable odor. The minister who occasionally visited the hospital called upon Johnson, prayed for and comforted him as best he knew. Then turning, he proceeded to comfort the other, but perceiving the disagreeable effluvia he stopped short, remained at some distance and holding his nostrils, prayed in secret. The prayer ended, the attendant Sister approached the dying man, and with her handkerchief wiped the perspiration from his brow and the saliva from his lips. Johnson, who was a keen observer of men and manners, carefully noted the conduct of both; the lesson was a silent, but an important one, and he laid it to heart. Next time when the minister visited as usual, looking him full in the face, Johnson cried out, in a voice not difficult to be heard: "Begone. If I were as offensive as my companion you would not dare to approach me," and then turning to the Sister, he said: "Call for a priest; I desire to be instructed in the Catholic religion." He was, and after being fully convinced of the truth of the Church, was admitted to the holy sacrament of baptism.

Timothy Joseph Harris, another American and Protestant, from the State of Vermont or New Hampshire, was admitted into the hospital with a

wound in the arm, caused by an accidental discharge of a musket. He was an intelligent, cultivated young man, but exceedingly prejudiced against the Catholic religion. He had the idea, as he afterwards acknowledged, that the ministrations of Catholics, and especially of Religious, were confined exclusively to their own. Observing, on the contrary, how the Sisters attended and comforted all indiscriminately, his astonishment was great. The doctors, fearing mortification of the arm, were about proceeding to amputation, but by his urgent entreaties for a little delay, they deferred the operation for a while. Meantime, by the care and attention of the Religious, the necessity of amputating the member was rendered unnecessary; and then came the most important event of his life. While waiting to be thoroughly cured, he called for some books to occupy his attention. The first Catholic books he had ever read were those then put into his hands, and much was his surprise at finding them different from all he had been led to suppose regarding the Catholic faith. These finished, he called for others, and continued to read until he was perfectly convinced of the truth of the Catholic Church. What impressed him not a little from a different quarter was the visible change for the better in the manner of a fellow-companion who had been received into the Church at the time. But unwilling to give any one an opportunity of questioning his motives, he defer-

red making his profession of faith till discharged from the hospital, lest it might be supposed he had changed in compliance with the wishes of the Sisters. The greatest difficulty he experienced was in the matter of confession, not that he disbelieved in its efficacy, but because of the utter repugnance he felt in unburthening his conscience to a minister of religion. But even this he afterwards conquered, when he was baptized and admitted to the most adorable Eucharist, which he received with the most edifying sentiments of piety.

Frederick Nessinger, a German Lutheran, was a very strict and conscientious believer in his own religion, and most prejudiced against all others. Having been a considerable time in the hospital, he obtained and read a large number of Catholic works, but was not yet convinced. He continued to read, and at length, by the grace of God, came to see the truth and embraced it. Then we find in the hospital registry such entries as these: "Bridget Mary, Chinese; baptized and received the last sacraments." "Daniel Smyth, American; no religion; baptized and continued a firm Catholic." "James Pendlebury, English; Episcopalian; baptized and made his first communion." "Joseph Thompson, Norwegian; Lutheran; baptized, confirmed and made his first communion," etc. In fine, the entire number of adults thus received into the Church by the kindness and at-

tention of the Sisters, amounted in all to close on two hundred, the majority of whom have gone to receive their everlasting reward in the kingdom of Heaven, where they shall ever remember with unspeakable gratitude the labors and virtues of those who were the occasion of earning for them such unutterable happiness.

Beside the ordinary conversions effected in the manner described, by the perusal of Catholic books and the observance of the devotion and fidelity of the Sisters in the discharge of the duties of their holy vocation, there were others of a very unusual and, indeed, extraordinary nature, an instance or two of which it is only proper to place upon record. These remarkable conversions the Sisters have always attributed to the powerful intercession of the glorious Mother of God. In February of the year 1855, there happened to be in the hospital a patient, whose utter abhorrence of everything savoring of religion, and his apparently fixed determination to die in that state, caused him to be known and regarded as the "Hardened Man." He was an Irishman and a Catholic; but having embraced a naval life, he not only forgot the practice of his religion, but unhappily fell into great habits of vice and infidelity. Repeatedly did he refuse and even repulse in the rudest manner every effort of the Religious to awaken in him a sense of his position. On one occasion he forgot himself so far as to snatch the crucifix from the Sis-

ter's hands, and to dash it violently on the ground. In short, so utterly confirmed did he seem in his crimes, that it appeared better not to speak to him further on religion, as the mere mention thereof became only the signal for a burst of the most frightful abuse of everything sacred. Seeing, however, that he was fast approaching his end, that he might not die in his sins, the Sister one night earnestly recommended him to the blessed Virgin Mary, taking care, at the same time, to have a miraculous medal placed secretly in his pillow. On entering the ward in the morning, her joy and surprise is hardly to be described, on finding the hitherto obstinate impious man now mourning his crimes, lamenting his life, and begging, for the love of the Almighty, to have a priest brought to him to hear his confession. After receiving the sacrament, so marked was the change in his manner, his last days being as edifying as his former were scandalous, that from this circumstance alone the conversion of a Mr. C. is to be attributed.

More remarkable still was the conversion of General Williams in a similar manner. On the second of July, the general, who was an American, and of no religion, was admitted into the hospital. He was suffering from acute disease of the heart, which, added to a naturally violent temper, rendered him almost a terror to his attendants. Though the presence of the Sisters restrained him a little, yet, when suffering violently, he would in-

dulge in terrible oaths, imprecations, and otherwise objectionable language. One night, while thus giving way to his passion, the Sister expostulated with him, reminding him that perhaps before morning he would be in the presence of his God. To this he answered in a violent manner: "Let me alone; I care not if I die like a dog; I only wish the Almighty would take me this moment."

Seeing that further advice would be ineffectual in restraining his violence, the Sister, before leaving for the night, slipped a miraculous medal under his pillow, beseeching the Mother of Mercy to take upon herself the care of his salvation. As in the previous instance, on visiting him in the morning, she found him, to her great joy and consolation, an entirely altered man. His manner, his words, his tone, in a word, his whole demeanor was entirely different. He begged pardon for the rudeness of the previous night, declared he now desired to alter his life, and added: "I cannot understand what has come over me! I cannot account for the change I feel in myself; what can it be?" As he continued thus the Sister thought she had better tell him what she felt convinced had really effected the change; to which he answered: "It must be that; it is *certainly miraculous*; I cannot account for it; show me the medal." After gazing at it for some time with tears in his eyes he would have it put on a string and placed round his neck.

Next day, in presence of Major Roman and Dr. C. F. Sawyer, he formally renounced freemasonry, of which he was a prominent member, when he was formally received into our holy religion. After this he rallied a little, but died on the eighth October, after receiving all the rites of the Church.

To these several other instances might be added, illustrative in a like manner of the great power and efficacy of the prayers of the blessed Virgin Mary. Not, however, to weary the reader, we shall only mention one or two more. Sometime in the year 1866 one of the Lay-Sisters lost the use of her reason, and remained for several months a confirmed lunatic. Everything that charity could suggest or medical skill effect was done for her, but in vain. Her case seemed utterly hopeless. As a final resource, her state was earnestly recommended to the holy "Apostleship of Prayer," a society whose business it is to recommend the needy to God. Her immediate recovery was the result; it was in this manner, as recorded by the Religious themselves: "In the beginning of November she had an attack of unusual violence, during which she seemed entirely beside herself. By degrees, however, she calmed down, and on the Friday before the Feast of the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin was found up and dressed rather earlier than usual. In a quiet and sensible manner she asked if it was not Friday, and on being answered in the affirmative, she expressed a wish to go to

confession. The Sisters were afraid to permit her, however they did so, and from that hour she was perfectly cured. Her recovery, which was evidently miraculous, they attributed to the prayers of the "Apostleship of Prayer."

Another of the Religious, Sister M. de C., was almost a complete cripple, her left knee being very much swollen and inflamed in consequence of frequent attacks of neuralgia. So critical was her condition that the physicians deemed amputation necessary, and, indeed, the only hope of saving her life, but from her advanced age and impaired constitution, fearing she might sink under the operation, it was deemed better to leave her in the hands of the Almighty. Eight days before the Feast of Corpus Christi, the community began a Novena, in which the afflicted Sister joined. At the same time she daily applied, with great faith, to the suffering member some of the oil from the lamp kept burning in presence of the adorable Eucharist. At first there was no very marked change, each day, however, she felt somewhat easier, but on Corpus Christi she astonished the entire community by kneeling upright during the half hour's adoration. And from that day to this her knee has given her no further pain!

In the appeal made by the Sisters to the public for funds for the erection of an hospital, of which we have spoken before, it was stated that one of the ends of the Order of Mercy was the protec-

tion and reformation of unfortunate females. In every country, but especially in a land such as this, where at first the restraints of society were fewer and slighter, and the allurements to vice greater and more numerous than in older and better organized bodies, the necessity of such charitable institutes is unhappily but too painfully clear. For a time, while engaged in the erection of the hospital, they were unwillingly necessitated to postpone their charitable resolve, but on the completion of that building, they immediately applied themselves to this most merciful object of their Institute.

From the middle of the year 1859, a few penitent creatures enjoyed the protection of the Religious, but it was not till the year 1862, that a regular establishment was opened for their benefit. On the second of March of that year, the Sisters and penitents, to the number of eight, took possession of a frame building, destined for their temporary use, in Hayes Valley. There they remained till the fifteenth of January, 1865, when they were transferred to their present asylum on Potrero road. As the reformation of the unfortunates was a public advantage, and a work of the most charitable nature, the Legislature granted a liberal sum in behalf of the Institute. How richly the Sisters merited the kind notice of the authorities, and the approval of all virtuous minds is evinced by the fact, that from the second of March, 1862, the date

of the opening of the Institute, till the twenty-second of January, 1863, a period of only ten months, they reclaimed from lives of sin and shame, no less than thirty-one unhappy, abandoned women. The total number that has hitherto enjoyed the benefits of the institution has been between four and five hundred, nearly all of whom, it is to be hoped, have been brought to a sense of religion and a reformation of life. But the difficulties encountered in reforming these victims of crime are oftentimes greater than the public is aware of. Prayer, fasting and penitential exercises are not unfrequently resorted to when all other means are found unavailing. An instance will suffice. A. R., a Chilian by birth, after leading a most profligate life for a number of years, eventually fell into a state of idiocy, and was placed by her friends in the asylum. When spoken to on ordinary matters, she paid not the slightest attention, but the moment religion was named, she became fearfully excited, and would give vent to her passion in a volley of oaths and obscenity. What particularly seemed to annoy her, was the presence of holy water, which, if sprinkled in her room, caused her to be beside herself with passion. After every effort that charity and ingenuity could suggest was tried, but in vain, to bring her to a consciousness of her unhappy position, it was finally determined to recommend her to God by prayer and fasting. The Religious accordingly

divided themselves into nine bodies, each fasting one day, and offering the Litany of the Saints and the Penitential Psalms for her recovery and conversion. A few days after the expiration of the Novena, she appeared very much altered, requested permission to go to her confession, and from that hour till the moment of her death, which happened three years later, continued as gentle as a lamb, and lived a practical Christian life, attending regularly to all her religious duties.

Although the labors of the Sisters in behalf of the unfortunate Magdalens, and in the care and attendance of the sick entrusted to their charge up to that date, won the praise and approval of all unprejudiced minds, their noble and heroic devotion in behalf of poor suffering humanity has never been seen to such absolute advantage, or in so engaging a light as in the terrible epidemic, by which the city and county was visited in 1868. In April of that year, the first cases of a virulent small-pox disease occurred in the city. At first, the inhabitants paid little attention to a matter of so ordinary a nature; a couple of months and the town, it was thought, would be entirely freed from its presence. When, however, contrary to the general belief, the cases kept steadily advancing, and had reached the considerable number of fifty by the beginning of June, the community began to be seriously alarmed, especially as those infected with the disease were obliged by the au-

thorities to go to the pest-house, where death was almost certain to be the result, in consequence of a want of the necessary care and attention. Rumors of the ill-treatment and neglect of the unfortunate sufferers having reached the ears of the Sisters, they immediately, with that devotion and self-sacrifice for which they are so universally known, addressed the following letter to the medical gentleman in charge of the patients:

“To Beverly Cole, M. D.:

“SIR—It is one of the privileges of our order of Mercy that we attend on our fellow-creatures in whatever form of disease it is the Divine Will to afflict them. Therefore, if the city authorities are willing to accept our services two, of the Sisters will, D. V., go to the pest-house and take up their residence there until such time as the Almighty will be pleased to deliver the city from the terrible malady.

“If the authorities are willing to accept our services we shall go on Monday, the seventeenth. One small room is all we require; you know the accommodations of a Sister of Mercy are very simple. We have been vaccinated lately.

“Yours faithfully in Christ,

“SISTER MARY BROWN,

“Superioress of Sisters of Mercy.”

This offer was gratefully accepted by the authorities, and the Sisters accordingly entered on their

charitable mission. The light in which their labors were regarded by the Protestant community may be best inferred from the following extract which appeared at the time in one of the dailies: "It was almost with a feeling of shame for Protestantism that we saw the other day when the continual complaint of mal-administration, and neglect of patients at the Vasiala hospital in this city, seemed to be without a remedy, none of our religious denominations, save the Catholic Church, had any organization which could furnish intelligent, kind, competent female nurses to enter that home of misery and take charge of its ministration to the crowd of suffering humanity it contains.

"Those devoted Catholic Sisters of Mercy voluntarily presented themselves, and entered upon their mission of charity, from which all others shrank in dismay and affright. That their presence there will have a beneficial effect none can doubt; already the good effects of their presence are apparent. This fearless, self-sacrificing charity is an honor to their Church and to their order."

The very arduous nature of the Sisters' position, and the happy results attending their devoted exertions, it would be difficult to justly describe. Of the former the accompanying extract of a letter written at the time by one of the Religious to a friend will give the reader a tolerable idea: "It (the small-pox) is truly a horrible disease, so

loathsome, so disgusting, so pitiable, twice the number of patients with any other disease would not require the care and attention those afflicted with small-pox require, not one spot from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head sound. The eyes of the greater number closed, and pus running from them down their cheeks, their throat so sore that to take a drink almost chokes them, the tongue in some instances so swollen that one drop cannot pass down, their hands so sore they are helpless, and then the *mal-odor* so terrible that they themselves cry out: 'Oh, Sister, I cannot stand the smell.' " The letter then goes on to speak of the dispositions of the sufferers, and how no other minister except the Catholic priest dared to enter the hospital. "On two occasions they (Protestant clergymen) were sent for. In the first instance the messenger returned with word that the minister could not come as his family would be in danger! The second time it was an American lady, pious in her own way, and terribly troubled at the idea of dying unbaptized, but with a good share of prejudice against Catholics; we were almost sure the minister she sent for would come, as he was an unmarried man, and especially as people are beginning to make remarks through the city that no one but the priests and the Sisters put a foot inside these doors. * * * The messenger returned, saying that the gentleman could not come on account of his congregation, who

would desert him if he entered the pest house ! When poor Mrs. C., the lady in question, saw the little dependence she could place on her cowardly shepherd, she consented to have the priest; so she was baptized by Father Hayes, who gave her the name of 'Mary Gabriel,' in honor of our mother, who happened to come that day to pay us a visit, and felt glad, knowing that ere long, her namesake would be an additional intercessor for us all in Heaven."

The writer next continues to give an account of some remarkable conversions, the substance of which we prefer giving in our own words. While the epidemic was at its highest, there happened to be admitted into the hospital a young man in the bloom of life. To interrogatories of the Sisters, inquiring if he had ever been baptized, he answered in the negative and added that he did not intend to be either. His father, he said, was an infidel, he was the same; but his mother, who was a praying woman, used to be halloaing, a thing in which he did not believe. His case being a very dangerous and virulent one, leaving little or no hope of his ultimate recovery, the Sisters made every effort to rouse him to a sense of his position, but were as frequently repulsed with the cold and irreligious expression, "I don't believe." In fine, when everything else had failed, an appeal to his better nature to the effect that if there were no God, why should the Sisters be there attending

to such loathsome cases, not for gold or silver, but for the love of that God that he denied, drew from him the admission that if there were a God, and if there were a true Church on earth, that God and that Church were to be sought amongst the Catholics. But at the same time he repeated his former declarations that he did not believe. Not despairing still of his final conversion, the Sisters went through the hospital, begging the prayers of the patients in behalf of the poor, unhappy infidel. The effect was as consoling as it was remarkable. He no longer spoke of not believing, but his life was so bad, his career so wicked. Evidently divine grace had touched his soul; the prayers of the patients and the Religious were manifestly heard, and the infidelity into which he had unhappily nursed himself during health, was now giving place to the dominion of reason and the empire of religion. In fine, on one of those occasions, when the attendants would remind him of the danger of his position, after a moment of significative silence, during which reason and irreligion, nature and grace, were evidently warring, the poor sufferer said, with the deepest emotion: "Oh, how can I dissolve every tie of friendship, every bond of love, with my father, mother, brothers and sisters? I cannot do it." And then he added: "You are not probably aware that there is a greater prejudice against Catholics in Maine and one or two adjoining States, than in all the rest of America."

His case was now an entirely different one ; it was not that he did not believe, but that he feared the censure of the world, that imaginary phantom which, unhappily, but too often, prevents many from embracing our holy religion. A little encouragement, however, from the Sister, and he conquered even this difficulty, and received with much faith the holy sacrament of baptism. He expired on the following evening ; but shortly before his death, to an inquiry as to how he felt, he answered : “ I feel very happy ; there is a load off my heart ; how can I ever repay you for your goodness ? ” Thus died in strong sentiments of religion and piety T. I. R., who, only a little before, had declared himself an infidel—an unbeliever in every form of religion.

The ministrations of the Nuns are not confined to the care and attendance of the sick, and the protection and reformation of the Magdalens ; they are further exercised in behalf of the unhappy victims of crime, who, for violation of the laws of the country, happen to be subjected to imprisonment and death. In accordance with a privilege granted by the public authorities, the Religious are permitted to visit the city and county jail, and to exercise their mission of charity in behalf of the unfortunate inmates. Frequently their efforts in this field of their labor have been marked by the most unexpected and gratifying success.

Out of several instances we shall introduce only one to the notice of the reader.

W. M. was an outlaw or highwayman, who had given much annoyance to the powers that be. For years he had defied every effort of the local authorities to capture or restrain him in his lawless career. Eventually, however, he fell into the hands of the officers of justice, was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. So desperate was his character, and so little worthy was he deemed of compassion, that several privileges granted to his companions were sedulously denied him. Confined in a dark cell, without the smallest glimpse of light, heavily chained both by the hands and feet to an iron ring in the ground, he presented rather the appearance of a savage beast than of a human being. Even with these precautions, the jailer would not open his cell without being accompanied by a couple of his staff, and seemed entirely astonished to think that the Religious could have courage to approach him.

At first, they found him a very hardened and perverse soul; they could not bring him to any feeling or sense of sorrow for his numerous crimes. What seemed to afflict him most, and from which he shrunk in agony, and would prevent at any cost, even at the expense of self-destruction, was the satisfaction he knew the public would enjoy in witnessing him undergoing the extreme penalty of the law. "Never," he would

exclaim, "shall they have the gratification of seeing me hanging from the gibbet." But though rude and unmanageable towards others, he was ever kind and gentle to the Sisters, and this coupled with the fact that he had received the grace of baptism, and had been once to confession, gave them the hope, that by constant and unremitting attention, they would eventually succeed in bringing him to a sense of his awful position. They were not deceived. By frequent exhortation and the aid of pious books, which they induced him to read, they succeeded, under God, in touching his heart. The proud and savage mind yielded at length to their mild and gentle influence; religion had spoken to his heart—the tiger was become a lamb. A general confession immediately followed; after which, he received for the first time the adorable Eucharist; was confirmed, and invested with the scapular. From that moment he gave up all communication with the outer world, and conversed only with the priest and the Sisters on religious matters.

As the time of execution drew near, he gave himself more and more to prayer, devoting several hours each day to religious exercises and pious meditations on the world to come. On the morning of his death he received holy communion with such fervor, and appeared so penitent, as to move the religious to tears. But, thinking that they wept with sorrow at his untimely end, and

not rather with Christian joy over his complete conversion to God, he begged them not to mourn but rather to rejoice and be glad, for that years had passed since he knew the peace and happiness he enjoyed on that occasion. "Do not grieve," said he, "it is glad you ought to be that I die to-day; long years have passed since I knew the peace of mind that fills my heart this morning. Oh, if you knew the temptations that I have had to commit self-destruction, you would feel how merciful God has been to me; I go to death happy." And then addressing the priest, who seemed to be much moved, he said: "Father, do not give way, you must be as firm as a rock." On the scaffold it was the same; his conduct surprised every one, and became the subject of the most favorable comment. Thus by the labors and exertions of the holy Religious, whose vocation it is to pour the balm of comfort and consolation into the afflicted heart, and to dispose the evil-minded and perverse to repentance, one of the roughest and most intractable natures, but a nature which under other and more favorable circumstances might be an honor to society, was brought into the most edifying submission to the stern necessity of the law, and awakened to a true and proper sense of religion and repentance.

CHAPTER XI.

PIONEER MISSIONARIES.—THEIR LIFE.—SICK CALLS.—INCREASE OF THE CATHOLIC COMMUNITY.—APPOINTMENT OF BISHOP O'CONNELL.—PROGRESS OF RELIGION UNDER HIS ADMINISTRATION.—PROGRESS OF RELIGION IN THE DIOCESE OF MONTEREY.—INCREASE OF CHURCHES IN SAN FRANCISCO.—EDUCATION.—CONCLUSION.

TO THE increase in the population of the archdiocese, and the formation of the country missions, the attention of the reader is now invited.

During the years 1849–50, the numerous country towns, which have since become such important centres of trade and mining operations, were springing into existence. Already, in 1850, Sacramento, Marysville, Placerville, Weaverville, and Grass Valley were places of considerable importance. Several thousand inhabitants had settled in these respective localities, and, as the yield of the mines was then very great, numbers were still joining their brethren. Scattered through the country in other directions, were also other numerous camps, all which had to depend, in the first instance, on the pastor of Sacramento for the reception of the sacraments.

The first pioneer missionary who settled down in the country north of the city of Sacramento, was the Rev. Father Shanahan, who, upon losing the entire use of his sight, was obliged to retire

from the field of his labors. Father Shanahan lived in the city of Nevada, and attended to the wants of ten mining localities. His life may be best imagined from the fact that he had no regular church, and had to be constantly on foot moving among his people, and performing the offices of religion in the rude huts of the miners. It is to him that Grass Valley is indebted for its first ecclesiastical structure—a little wooden shanty, completed by his successor, the Very Rev. T. J. Dalton, the present vicar-general of the diocese. He was succeeded in Nevada by the Rev. Father Dyart, who continued in charge till February, 1855, when he was replaced by the Rev. Father Dalton.

Up to 1853, the only churches built in that section of the country were those of Sacramento, Marysville, Weaverville, Grass Valley and Nevada, all which were on the smallest and poorest scale; the one at Nevada being only a miner's cabin fitted up for the purposes of religion.

In 1853, Marysville, now the episcopal see of the diocese of Grass Valley, received her first pastor in the person of the Rev. F. P. Magonotte, subsequently vicar-general of the archdiocese of San Francisco. Father Magonotte, who was a Passionist, had previously served on the Australian missions, whence he came about the year 1849. He afterwards established a convent of his order in the city of Virginia, but in consequence of some disagreement or misunderstanding with the ordi-

nary, he retired from the diocese, and returned to Italy, his native country, where he died only recently. An able theologian, zealous, religious and active missionary, he rendered invaluable service to the cause of religion during his time in the country. To him one of the principal churches in the city of San Francisco—St. Francis, and the cathedral church of Marysville, are indebted for their erection; not, however, without a very considerable debt being left to be paid.

In 1854, Father Quin, subsequently first pastor of Oakland, succeeded Father Ingoldsby in the charge of Sacramento. The great and overwhelming duty devolving on these pioneer missionaries can with difficulty be imagined. A mere outline is, indeed, all we can affect to convey to the mind of the reader.

The Rev. Father Dalton, who, as has been remarked, succeeded the Rev. Father Dyart in the pastorate of Nevada in 1854, had under his charge the whole of the counties of Nevada, Sierra, Plumas and a part of Placer, an extent of territory as large as an entire province in Ireland. The Catholics under his charge being probably between five and seven thousand, and very much scattered, half his time had to be spent in the saddle. The country in that part of the State being very much broken, and consisting of a succession of undulating hills with an occasional elevation, assuming the pretensions of a tolerably respectable mountain,

all richly clothed with a great variety of indigenous timber, the pine generally predominating, the missionary's life was romantic and toilsome in the extreme. Oftentimes, at the urgent call of death, he might be seen sweeping down the sides of those rugged hills, or dashing heedlessly through the wild ravine, urging at its utmost pace the jaded steed, that the dying sinner's humble couch might be reached before the soul had gone before its Maker.

The Catholics in those days, who were chiefly Irish, with a small per centage of Germans and French, though carried away by the rage for gold, were yet ever delighted to see the priest, and never wanting in providing the best in their power for all his requirements. The entire week from Monday till Saturday, except when interrupted by sickness and attending the dying, was spent by the missionary in visiting the different camps, where his time was divided between the offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the hearing of confessions, baptizing and preaching. Though not very practical in approaching the tribunal of confession, for under the circumstances it could hardly be expected, the people were ever most punctual in attending at the most adorable sacrifice of the Mass, all other work, no matter how important, being abandoned for the time.

The heaviest and most onerous portion of the missionary's duty at this time were the calls to

attend on the dying, for although they were not very frequent, from the great distances they had oftentimes come and the very urgency of their nature, being most commonly the result of some accident in the mines, they were most trying to the health and constitution of the priest.

And what was still more difficult to be borne after being put to the greatest inconvenience, even to the danger of losing his life by riding one hundred or more miles in a mountainous country under a burning sun, his services were not always found to be needed. An instance or two will give the reader an idea of this. One Sunday evening at the period of which I speak, as the missionary, to whom reference has been made, was about to retire to rest after a laborious day's duty a sick-call was announced. As the summons had come from a great distance, and the roads being only partially known, he judged it better to wait till early dawn, lest by setting out in the dark he might lose his way and thereby be the occasion of only greater delay. Accordingly, at three o'clock in the morning he was in the saddle and on his way. For hours he rode over hill and dale as fast as the speed of a hardy mule could go. Towards noon, as the sun rose in all its power and force, the worthy man's strength began to fail. Nine hours continuous traveling on the same animal, the greater part in the burning heat of a tropical sun, had completely prostrated his powers, and yet

he was only half his journey. Thirty-five or forty miles yet remained to be traveled over ere he reached the place. To halt on the way, to grow faint-hearted or return, was not to be thought of. A soul had to be saved; he was called to attend on the dying, and happen what would, he was bound to go.

A couple of hours repose, a little refreshment, and he was again on the road, hastening with all his energy under the broiling Summer sun. Hour by hour he toiled unhesitatingly on, the true representative of the apostolic priest in the faithful discharge of his duty. The shades of evening were already falling thick and fast around him; seventy-five miles had been traveled from early dawn, and now the camp was visible; a little more and as he rode up to the dying man's door the night had just begun. Wearied and exhausted, he threw himself from the saddle, hurried into the cabin and asked for the patient. The sufferer was, indeed, there, but he needed not the services of the priest. As far as he was concerned, the clergyman's toilsome journey had been undertaken in vain. An excess of intoxicating drink, from which he shortly recovered, had been his only disease!

On a certain Friday, in Lent, about the same period, when the snow lay thick all over the country, the same missionary priest was called upon to attend a dying person, at a distance of some forty or fifty miles. In the northern part of

Upper California the winter is oftentimes extremely severe. For weeks the snow lies several feet on the ground, and in those early days, traveling, except on the public highways, was attended with the greatest danger of losing one's way. Regardless, however, of every danger, the Catholic priest never fails, when summoned to hasten to the couch of the dying sinner. By two o'clock in the afternoon, the clergyman had ridden thirty miles through the snow-bound region. Only ten or fifteen miles more lay between him and the end of his journey, and yet those ten miles were enough to try the courage and test the zeal of the most devoted priest of God.

From Eureka, the town where he then found himself, no road or path led to the camp whither he was proceeding, while at the same time a vast sheet of snow lay deep on the ground, in places twenty, and in places thirty feet. To proceed forward alone, was, therefore, only to expose one's self to the most imminent danger; nor, indeed, did he imagine that there would be any difficulty in obtaining a guide, for rarely does it happen that the Catholic priest is refused an attendant when visiting the dying. In vain, however, did he appeal to those present; all were unexceptionably silent. No one was willing to accompany him on the way; the danger was too great—no road, no house, no indication whatever to be encountered of the actual position of the camp; nothing, in a

word, save its general bearings, while, on the other hand, on the approach of night, they were sure to be further embarrassed in passing over the untrodden snow. The danger, on the other hand, of a soul being lost forever, caused the missionary to press his request; when an old, true-hearted Irishman, Edward Mooney, touched by the pious appeal, generously came forward and offered to accompany him at every hazard. They had first to cross a great ravine, some thousand feet in depth, and then rendered all but impassable by reason of the great masses of frozen snow, which covered its sides. The descent was readily accomplished; a few minutes and they found themselves at the bottom of the gorge, and then began their labor. A few hundred feet of ascent is not, under ordinary circumstances, of much account; but, on that occasion, it was a work of great peril and much toil. The snow, which had melted during the earlier part of the day, had, by the time they arrived, formed into a species of ice, and so rendered their progress both dangerous and difficult. Here was no well-trodden winding path, no trail of man or beast on which to tread; no tree or shrub to cling to in a moment of peril; naught, in a word, but a rugged, precipitous mass of frozen snow each step up which, was attended with continual danger, as being liable at any moment to yield under the pressure of the party, and precipitate them into the gorge beneath. But, con-

fiding in the goodness and providence of God, in whose holy cause they were engaged, they began the ascent.

For two weary hours they clambered slowly but steadily up that snowy steep, resting betimes to recruit their exhausted strength, or clinging with desperate energy to the icy mass, as some peculiarly difficult point had been reached. Already the shades of evening had gathered thick around them, the sun had long gone down beyond the western hills, and the stars and moon were casting their feeble and unsteady light down the frozen descent, as with throbbing hearts and grateful minds, the missionary and his companion planted their feet on the summit of the ravine. It was now eight o'clock, and the entire journey, with the exception of that one difficult pass, yet lay before them. The only security the priest had, was in the judgment of his guide, who was acquainted with the position of the camp; but, under the circumstances, this was a poor and feeble reliance.

For two hours or more, they hastened cheerfully and confidently on, encouraged with the hope that before long they would be at the end of their journey. But, as no indication of the camp was anywhere to be seen, the idea occurred to them that probably they had lost their way. The thought, which at first only gave rise to suspicion, became after some further examination only a too

painful reality. They had, indeed, mistaken the way, and they knew not whither to turn. As an additional evil, the exhausted condition of the priest urgently demanded a little repose. The thirty miles ride in the forenoon, and the weary, toilsome journey from then till midnight, through the snowy plain, had so completely undermined his strength, that at any cost, if left to himself, he would have dropped on the snow and sought repose in sleep. Nor was this the entire extent of the danger; cold was about to accomplish what sleep would have done, if permitted. A strange unaccountable sensation stole over his members; he could not, though he willed it, move on; his feet refused to perform their functions. Mooney immediately understood the situation. He was frost-bitten; the blood had refused to flow through his limbs. One thing alone could now save him from death—the frost-bitten members must be rubbed till circulation again sets in. An ignorance of this simple and efficacious remedy, and his life was gone. With an energy and anxiety bordering on despair, the faithful guide applies himself to the task. A life is to be saved, and the missionary must not die if it depend on him, as indeed it does. For a time the frozen limbs resist his efforts, sensation, there is none. A few minutes more, however, and hope is revived; the blood is once more in motion; the friction has caused the change; and

then ensues the most intense and excruciating agony. Again and again would the sufferer beg his companion to desist and leave him to die, a request in which, it is needless to say, he could not be gratified.

It was now fast approaching the hour of midnight, and their only chance of saving their lives lay in moving slowly about until the return of day, and thus preventing a repetition of the danger. For three hours, or more, they accordingly moved slowly and feebly on, not knowing, nor indeed caring, whither they proceeded, their only object being to keep the blood in motion, if mayhap they could succeed therein. Towards four in the morning, the missionary's strength entirely failed; he could not even at the peril of death move any farther. A quarter of an hour's repose on the snow, and he would make a further attempt. It might be that that time would result in his death, but under the circumstances, nought else was to be done. The quarter passed, the difficulty then was to rouse him to consciousness; he had become frozen again; the intensity of the cold had once more paralyzed all his members. Three quarters of an hour's exertions, and he was again on his feet, but this time not with any strength to proceed any further. The weakness of his companion was also but too visible; and so prostrated and enfeebled in body and mind, they moved, or rather crawled, feebly forward to the top of a little

eminence, and there awaited in silence their apparently inevitable destiny.

As it was now no longer any use to dissemble the fearfully perilous position in which they were placed, the missionary exhorted his companion to all confidence in God. If it were the will of the Almighty that they should perish, they should accept the decree with calmness and Christian tranquility. They could not part with their lives in a better or nobler cause, for they were doing the work of their heavenly Master, and doubtless their reward would be sure.

A more Christian and edifying spectacle is not often to be met with in missionary life—a faithful, devoted priest, the true personification of him spoken of by the Lord as ready to forfeit his life in behalf of his flock, perishing of cold and exhaustion, after the most heroic endeavors to carry the consolation of religion to one of his people. But their situation, though critical in the extreme, and apparently hopeless, was not unnoticed by God.

As the early dawn began to break over the snowy waste, a column of lazy smoke rising in the distance, brought hope once more to their minds, as it indicated the nearness and position of the camp, one mile from where they then were. But the problem was how to travel that mile, for, as regarded the priest, he was not only unable to move, but could not even rise to his feet, while

as respected the guide, it was very much to be feared that his fast-failing strength would be unable to accomplish the distance. An attempt, however, had to be made, and so trusting in the providence of God and the sacredness of his mission, Mooney started for the camp. Already he had advanced a considerable distance, sustained by the consciousness that so much was depending on his individual exertions, but though aware of the desperate nature of the case, his utterly exhausted condition was unable to carry him through, and then as he tottered and fell on the snow, the last ray of hope seemed to have vanished from both. Not so, however, for they were in the hands of a merciful Providence; they were on God's work and He would not abandon them. A body of miners, happening to pass that way while proceeding to their work, accidentally came on the priest. Happily he had not yet lost the use of his senses, and was able to inform them of the attempt made by his companion. Both were accordingly conveyed to the camp, where, by proper care and attention, their lives were saved, but the person to whom they were carrying the comforts of religion was dead. Such is a sample of the trials and hardships of the pioneer Catholic missionaries of Upper California in behalf of the immigrants.

While the missions of Marysville, Weaverville, and Grass Valley, alluded to in the preceeding chapter, were coming into existence, those to the

east in Placer, Eldorado, Amador, Calaveras and Tuolumne counties, were also being formed. During the great rush in 1849-50 and '51, gold having been found in considerable quantity in those several parts, the formation of large and important stations was the natural result. These, like the missions to the west, were dependent at first for all spiritual aid on the priest of Sacramento, whose services at best could only be secured on very special occasions. The presence of a clergyman then in the country, was as rare as the visit of the ordinary at present. For months numbers of Catholics never had the consolation of a visit from the pastor. As time, however, rolled on, a better and more satisfactory arrangement was made.

In 1852, Rev. Father Ingoldsby was appointed to the charge of that part of the country. Placerville being an important and central camp, the Rev. Missionary made it his residence. Thence he attended the other stations within a radius of from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles. The attention he was enabled to bestow on those committed to his charge, it is clear, must have been slight. He was succeeded by the mild and amiable Father Quin, whose memory is still held in benediction by those who had the pleasure of knowing him.

The extent of the archdiocese having become such as has been described, its efficient supervision was now found to involve too heavy a burden

for his grace, the archbishop. It was accordingly contemplated to make a division by forming the north-western portion into a separate charge, with Marysville as the episcopal residence. The number of missions then actually formed in that part of the country, it is true, were not very numerous, but as the district had already assumed a permanent character as regarded the mines and the agricultural products, it was judged, and not without reason, that no risk would be run in creating it into a separate diocese. The person appointed to this important post, was the Right Rev. E. O'Connell, formally professor in All-Hallows College Ireland. Dr. O'Connell was consecrated in Dublin, on the third of February, 1861, under the title of Bishop of Flaviopolis, *in partibus infidelium*, and Vicar-Apostolic of Marysville. Seven years later, on the third March, 1868, the vicariate was raised to the dignity of a diocese by a Bull of his Holiness Pope Pius IX. At the same time, the north-eastern portion was detached and placed under the care of the Right Rev. Dr. Machebœuf, Vicar-Apostolic of Colorado and Utah; but even yet the limits of the diocese are very extensive, extending from the thirty-ninth to the forty-second degree of latitude, and from the Pacific on the west to the limits of the State of Nevada on the east.

On assuming charge of the vicariate, Dr. O'Connell found only four priests on the mission. From the beginning it was his most earnest desire to in-

crease the number of missionaries, and to introduce into the vicariate religious communities, whose special vocations would be the care of the needy, and the instruction and training of youth. To this end he immediately applied himself in providing for the wants of his people, and the result was as satisfactory as his most earnest and fervent desires could have led him to anticipate; for, within a very limited time, the number of priests and churches were doubled, and what was still more important, continued increasing, until now, only ten years from the date of his consecration, Bishop O'Connell finds himself at the head of about thirty as devoted and exemplary missionaries as are to be found on the American Continent.

The establishment of religious institutions for the education of the Catholic youth and the care of the orphan, kept pace with the increase of the secular clergy. Of four religious institutions established in the country, three have been founded during the Bishop's administration. The missions and religious institutions north of the Sierra Nevadas, have, for the most part, been called into existence within the same time. In 1859, silver was discovered for the first time in that section of the country. Messrs. Gould and Curry, after whom the famous mine of that name is called, were the fortunate discoverers. The richness of the deposits, as well as their very general character, increased, no doubt' by the exaggerated reports

common to such discoveries, threw the country into a feverish excitement, reproducing, in some measure, the scenes of '48 and '49, when business was everywhere suspended, and men hastened from all parts to the mines. Thousands, in consequence, rushed to the favored locality; the entire country in that direction being then known by the generic appellation of Washoe, a name derived from the Indians who inhabited there.

Within a few months after the important discovery, the two considerable towns of Virginia and Gold Hill sprang into existence. The rapidity of the growth of American and especially Californian towns, is one of the most remarkable and striking peculiarities of this remarkable country. At first, the canvas tents, the wigwam, or shelter of the native pine is the miner's only home; but these after a little, give way to the wooden shanties, which in time are replaced by the commodious, well-formed frame or brick erections. Hence it has not unfrequently happened that within the space of a single year, districts have been formed and towns established, with all the busy hum and bustle of active life, where, to that date, only the Indian and his prey were known to exist. Then the entirely capricious and undesirable position of these towns is not the least remarkable feature thereof. Perched on the top of a bleak, barren mountain, several thousand feet above the level of the sea, exposed to the cold, stormy blasts of winter, and the excessive heat of

summer, or, as more frequently happens, enclosed in some mountain gorge or ravine, whence all that is fair and lovely in nature is completely shut out from the view, they present to the European an appearance as singular as unsightly.

Amongst the first missionaries sent to that section of the country, to minister to the Catholics, was the Very Rev. Father Manogne, whose zeal in the cause of religion has showed itself in the establishment of a convent for the Sisters of Charity, and the erection of a magnificent church, by far the finest in the diocese, at a cost of about sixty thousand dollars.

While the missions in the northern part of the diocese were being established and advanced, those on the Californian side of the Sierra Nevadas were by no means forgotten. For a considerable time, the necessity of an orphan asylum, to offer a refuge to the poor and fatherless children of the country, was seriously and extensively felt. The loss to religion, in the absence of such an establishment, was but too painfully obvious to all, but as the resources of the diocese were then of the slenderest kind, and entirely inadequate to meet the demand of such an establishment, its advantages had for a time to be foregone. Eventually, however, the time had arrived, when the foundation of the institute could be no longer delayed, unless the best interests of religion were permitted to suffer. An appeal was accordingly made to the

faithful, the immediate and hearty response to which was the sum of twelve thousand dollars, collected within a few months, by the Very Rev. Father Dalton. To this amount, three thousand dollars more, free of interest, was loaned by a benevolent Catholic, for a limited period, and then was begun the long-desired asylum, the pride and glory of the diocese of Grass Valley. The building, whose original cost amounted to twenty thousand dollars, was placed under the charge of the Sisters of Mercy, and opened for the reception of orphans on the first of April, 1866. On the following day, a family of four destitute children were received within its hospitable walls. These were speedily followed by others, till within a very short time the numbers were so considerably increased that difficulty was experienced in providing for the requirements of all; yet, trusting in the goodness and providence of God, the doors of the institute have never been closed in the face of an orphan. The best and most satisfactory proof of its advantages and practical utility to the community, is the fact that during the short period of its existence, no less than two hundred destitute children have found a home therein, and been provided for by the Sisters.

In 1869, the diocese of Grass Valley was further blessed by the establishment of another religious community, but of a different character. Four years previous, a missionary priest of the congre-

gation of the Precious Blood, landed on the Pacific coast, with the view of giving missions through the country. The great numbers that flocked to his services, and the still greater numbers, to whom, for want of sufficient co-laborers, his ministrations could not be made available, gave birth to the idea of establishing a house of the Society in the country. But as the Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits and Vincentians were already established in the lower part of the country, in the archdiocese of San Francisco and the diocese of Monterey, an application was made to Dr. O'Connell, who readily accepted the offer, and assigned for the purpose the mission of Eureka, in Humboldt county. Thither, accordingly, the little community, to the number of nine, three priests, four students and two lay-brothers, repaired, on the fifteenth August, 1869. Thus was established in the diocese of Grass Valley the fourth of those religious institutions, whose holy and beneficent influence has been already extensively felt.

Upon the erection of San Francisco into an archdiocese, in 1853, the reader will remember that the Right Rev. Dr. Amat became Bishop of Monterey, the first episcopal see established in California. Dr. Amat, who was a member of the congregation of missions, was consecrated on the twelfth of March, 1854, and from then till the present, the progress of religion in his diocese has been all that the most reasonable mind could de-

mand. The Catholic population, which, at that date, did not probably exceed eight or ten thousand, has since increased to thirty thousand and upwards. Ten religious institutions, six for females, three for males, and an hospital, have meantime sprung up, and bear evidence to the zeal of the Bishop, and the devotion and liberality of the Catholics. To that part of the country, too, belongs the honor of preserving the only remnant of the old Christian congregations that yet exists. It is, indeed, true, that the same rapid increase in numbers did not take place in that section of the country as in the archdioceses, and that from the fact that the discovery of gold was confined to the latter, whither, in consequence, great bodies of immigrants were attracted. But the same cause that at first tended to increase the population of the archdioceses, operated at the same time indirectly in favor of Monterey. For, when the great interest attached to the mines began to decline, and men preferred to turn their attention to commerce and agriculture, considerable numbers settled down in the lower part of the country, in consequence of the great fertility of the land, and the advantages of climate. Thus that part of the coast has been slowly but steadily advancing, and it is now a matter of certainty that before long the see of Monterey will rank among the most important of the suffragan charges of the American Church.

The reader's attention is now solicited to the progress of religion in the city of San Francisco and its immediate surroundings. The oldest church in the city, it is hardly necessary to say, is that of Mission Dolores, established by the missionary Fathers in 1776. Under the new regime the first sacred edifice erected within the limits of the city, was, as has been stated in a previous chapter, a little wooden shanty constructed in 1849 on the present site of St. Francis' Church. The building, though small, was at first made to serve the triple object of school, church and dwelling. A curtain drawn across the lower room separated the church from the school, while the second story, not sufficiently high to permit standing erect, served as a dormitory for the clergy.

The third oldest Catholic Church in the city was St. Patrick's, opened for the first time for public worship on the ninth of June, 1851. In the registry of that date we find the following entry: "Father Maginnis was then the only priest in the city of San Francisco who preached in the English language, and he divided his services between St. Francis' Church of Vallejo St., and the chapel then used here." The old St. Patrick's continued to be used till the present year, when the services were transferred to the present beautiful structure on Mission street, which, when completed, will be the finest place of Catholic worship in the city.

After the erection of the old St. Patrick's, the

Rev. Father Marashi, who had been for some time assistant pastor to Father Maginnis, purchased for ten thousand dollars the ground on which the present Jesuit Church and schools are built on Market street. There he erected a small temporary church, which was succeeded later on by the present magnificent structure, where from eight to ten thousand persons assist at mass on Sundays. Thus far all the churches that have been erected were chiefly intended for the use of the English-speaking population. As, however, there was a considerable number of French, German and Italian inhabitants in the city, it was found necessary to provide special pastors and churches for their use. Hence, in 1857, his grace the archbishop purchased the present French church on Bush street, which had been originally a Baptist place of worship. For some time previous, the French congregation had a special service for themselves in the cathedral, as the Spaniards have at present in St. Francis. The first pastor of the French congregation in the city was the Rev. Father Blave, who arrived in the country in 1849, and had been for some years pastor of Stockton. He was succeeded at his death in 1861, by Father Molinier, who in turn was succeeded by the present incumbent, Father De Clerq. In a similar manner the Germans were provided with a pastor of their own country in the person of the Rev. Father Wolf. For several years Father Wolf labored for his coun-

trymen with all the zeal and devotion of an apostle, but his fast-failing health and onerous duties necessitating his retirement, the care of the congregation was entrusted to Rev. P. J. Kaizer, under whose active and persevering efforts a commodious temporary church has been erected for the people.

The very considerable increase of the city, particularly in the western quarter, during the decade ending with 1860, necessitated the further erection of ecclesiastical accommodation in that direction. Accordingly, in 1861, we find the Rev. H. P. Gallagher, engaged in the erection of St. Joseph's Church, on Mission street. At that time the congregation was so limited that a meagre structure, capable of accommodating a couple of hundred persons was deemed sufficient, but four years later, by 1865, the numbers had so increased that the present building had to be erected, at a cost of eleven thousand dollars; and even to this an addition had to be made at a cost of four thousand dollars more. On the 14th of February, 1864, one year prior to the erection of St. Joseph's, the church of St. Bridget, under the care of the Dominican Fathers, was opened for public worship, while three years later the parish of St. Peter was formed, having for its first pastor the Rev. Joseph Gallagher. During this period too, many of the suburban and country churches were also springing into existence, a detailed account of which

would demand too large a space. We turn rather to trace in a summary manner the efforts that have been made in the same time for the education of youth. Already we have seen how the Sisters of Charity, Mercy and Presentation Religious were introduced into the country, and succeeded in opening establishments for the education of those of their sex. The male portion of the youth was also at first under the control of Catholic teachers. Owing to the influence of the Catholic community in 1850 and 1851, and the difficulty of obtaining qualified teachers, the denominational system was introduced by the civil authorities, and retained for some time with most important advantages to our holy religion.

On the twenty-fifth September, 1851, an act was passed by the State Legislature, empowering the city authorities to establish a number of gratuitous educational establishments, known as the common schools, to be maintained by the taxation of the people. They were divided under the headings of the "City and Ward Schools," both which received their *pro rata* of the State educational fund. The latter, which were exclusively for the benefit of the Catholic community, were so called from the wards into which the city was divided, where the schools were established. The departments consisted in each of the wards of one grammar, one intermediate, and two primary schools. The boys were taught by male lay-teachers,

and the girls by members of the various female religious communities, all duly certificated and licensed to teach. In 1855, the total number of children thus being educated at the public expense was four thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight, of whom one thousand four hundred and twenty-one were Catholic. The annual amount received by the Catholics for their respective departments amounted to close on forty thousand dollars. Prior to this, some private individuals had opened educational establishments; but the first purely Catholic school was that established by Father Langlois, under the circumstances to which we have already alluded. To this another, on a larger scale, was erected in 1850, by Father Flavien, at Mission Dolores; but the success of the establishment not answering the expectations of the founder, after three years trial he abandoned the work and retired from the country, heavily involved in debt. The school and property then passed into the hands of the Jesuits, who, on seeing that the project was not likely to be a success, broke up the classes and concentrated their force at Santa Clara College, which has since become one of the first educational establishments of the country.

The denominational grant, which the Catholics enjoyed for four years, was withdrawn in 1855. The reasons assigned by the authorities for this change was the inconvenience in a republican community of sectarian establishments, as well as

the inferiority of the provision made by the Catholics for those under their charge. That the former rather than the latter was the motive determining the commissioners, there cannot be a reasonable doubt; for, in case they were dissatisfied with the provision made for the Catholic children, a remonstrance on this head would have been all that was needed. It is, however, to be regretted that a better arrangement, both as regarded the accommodations and the character of the instruction imparted, had not been provided by the Catholic authorities, for thus would have been removed one of the reasons assigned for the withdrawal of the grant.

The Catholics, being now thrown on their own resources, were obliged either to suffer their children to resort to the State institutions, or by joining in common, to erect establishments of their own. The latter, as far as the city was concerned, was a difficult and arduous work ; for, in order to erect even the necessary buildings, at least eighty or a hundred thousand dollars were necessary; while, on the other hand, to make no effort to that end, was to betray an indifference unworthy of Catholics in the noblest of causes. It is true, as far as the female portion of the community was concerned, a tolerable provision had been made by the various religious communities ; but for the boys little or nothing had been done, so that the great majority betook themselves to the govern-

ment establishments. To counteract the evil effects of this, the Archbishop immediately took measures for the introduction into the archdiocese of a community of Christian brothers, whose special vocation is the education of youth. At first, his application could not be complied with, owing to the overwhelming demands made on their numbers ; but, without relinquishing the hope, something meantime had to be done in the interest of education. Accordingly, an establishment, capable of accommodating two hundred boys, was erected in the suburbs of the city. Hence the origin of St. Mary's College, San Francisco. The person most instrumental in the erection of this great Catholic work was the Very Rev. James Croke, the present Vicar-general of the archdiocese, by whose active exertions thirty-two thousand dollars were collected for the purpose.

In the absence of a religious community to take charge of its classes, it was at first placed in the hands of a body of secular clergy, aided by laymen. But, in consequence of the inadequate number of professors, and the lowness of the pension, the results were not all that had been anticipated. Eventually the brothers of the Christian schools assumed its direction, and since then it has been constantly increasing in public confidence, until at present to be educated in St. Mary's College is a sufficient guarantee of a boy's acquirements.

The reader has now before his mind as detailed and impartial an account of the action of the Catholic church on this coast, since Christianity was introduced into the country, as it was in our power to furnish. Before parting with the subject, it may not be amiss to recall, in a general way, all that has been said, and to mark in particular the progress of the church since the country has become an integral portion of the American republic. As regards the primitive period, by which is understood the Jesuit and Franciscan times, the design entertained by the Religious, and in great measure accomplished, appear more in the light of romance than of sober, historical truth. That a few zealous, self-sacrificing, devoted Religious should attempt and accomplish the conversion of a large number of rude, barbarous people is nothing to be astonished at—nothing that is not frequently to be met with in the annals of the past; but that a couple of indigent missionary priests should plan and successfully carry into effect the conversion and civilization of entire nations, scattered over hundreds of miles, is, indeed, an effort of missionary zeal and success rarely to be met with in the history of the church.

One hundred and eighty-eight years before the present, the whole of Upper and Lower California was inhabited by a wild, pagan people. During one hundred and fifty years prior, every effort was made by one of the most powerful nations of

Europe to reduce this people to subjection, but in vain. Expedition after expedition set out for the purpose, but returned only to announce their inability to accomplish their object. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were expended, and yet no impression was made on the country, not a garrison or colony founded, not a native brought into subjection, not a rood of the land secured to the Christians.

On the other hand, as soon as the Catholic Church, in the persons of her missionary priests, engaged in the work, success from the beginning everywhere attended her efforts. No fruitless, unsuccessful expeditions went forth, no fabulous sums were expended, no perils, privations or want stood in the way. Once landed on the Californian shore, the Catholic missionary was determined to conquer or die. He may, indeed, perish in the attempt, but he would not abandon the work. The cause was the greatest and noblest in which he could be engaged; it was the moral and physical regeneration of a people. For success he looked alone to the Lord, nor was he deceived. Eighty-six years later and the whole of Lower California was Christian, and subject to Spain. Everywhere at the invitation of the missionary the inhabitants abandoned their savage existence, accepted the doctrines of the Christian religion and the principles of civilized life. Villages sprang up where formerly a house had never been seen;

cultivated plains took the place of wild, neglected tracts; the implements of war were exchanged for those of husbandry and art, and, in a word, spiritual and temporal prosperity marked the course of the missionary whithersoever he directed his steps.

The same, in an equal degree, as we have seen, was the result of the missionaries' exertions in Upper California. Everywhere throughout the entire land, as in Lower California, the savage inhabitants lent a respectful and willing attention to the teaching of the Fathers. Twenty-two missions established along the coast, from San Diego to San Francisco, were evidence of how devotedly and successfully they labored in behalf of the people.

The reward received by these champions of the cross and of humanity is known to the reader. For no other reason than the ungrounded suspicion of a credulous monarch, the first missionaries were ignominiously driven from a country they had so laboriously gained to God and the crown—a country where they had loaded the people with such innumerable blessings, both spiritual and temporal, while their successors, if not treated entirely so ill, were necessitated, withal, to drink deep of the cup of affliction, by seeing the pillage of the Church and the dispersion of their converts.

But, if it be an unpleasant and depressing

recollection to recall to mind the ruin of the native Californian Church by the Spanish and Mexican governments, it is also equally pleasing to remember the progress made by religion in the modern period, since the commencement of American rule. Of the entire American Church, there is not probably any other portion, if we except the diocese of Chicago, where our holy religion has attained such a position within the last generation.

Twenty-one years prior to this, when his grace, the archbishop, arrived on these shores, the Catholic population of the country hardly amounted to one tenth the present numbers. The number then belonging to the Church was probably between fifteen and twenty thousand, whereas now for the three dioceses the official returns show a Catholic population of one hundred and sixty thousand. At that period, too, the entire number of churches could not be more than twenty-five or thirty; at present, independent of conventual and collegiate establishments, there are one hundred and sixty-five. The same proportionate increase is observable in the ranks of the secular and regular clergy. In 1850, Dr. Alemany found himself at the head of ten or fifteen priests; to-day, within the limits of the archdiocese, the entire number subject to his grace amounts to over one hundred, while in the two suffragan dioceses there are sixty or more. Equally, if not more remarkable still, has been the growth of the religious establishments. Twenty

years ago, the date of which we speak, not a single female community was in the country; now there are twenty. Within the same period seven religious communities for males have been established. The actual progress then made by the Catholic Church in California within the last twenty years, may be represented thus :

	In 1850.	In 1871.
Catholic population.....	15,000	160,000
Bishoprics	1	3
Priests	15	170
Churches	24	165
Convents and Academies	0	13
Colleges.....	1	5
Hospitals.....	0	4
Orphanages.....	0	7

Well, indeed, may the Catholics and the clergy of the country rejoice at this happy result; but yet all is not done; one great work still remains to be achieved. That is the education, under purely Catholic auspices, of all the Catholic children of the community. It is, indeed, true that a tolerable provision has been made for the females and the better classes of boys, whose parents can afford to send them to collegiate establishments; but it is also equally true that the great masses of the poor are being educated in the government schools, where unhappily they learn neither religion nor morality—those two great requisites for man and society. Unless, then, thousands are to be lost to religion, Catholic schools have to be established, where the poor will receive a good

and gratuitous education. It is agreeable to think that an effort is now being made in this direction. Already a project has been started for the establishment, in the city of San Francisco, of a central educational establishment, to be conducted by the Christian brothers, where one thousand or fifteen hundred boys will receive a free education. With that as a beginning, we may hopefully look forward to the future, and when that day has arrived that all the Catholic youth of the country will be under purely Catholic influence—instructed as well in religion and morality as in secular learning, then, indeed, he who presides over this flock may say with the just and devout Simeon: “Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace; Quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.”¹

(1) *St. Luc*, chap. 2, v. 29-30.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

EXTENSIVE AMERICAN RUINS. — CIRCULAR FORT ON THE GENESEE. — REMAINS ON THE TONAWANDA. — CONICAL MOUNDS ON THE OCMULGEE. — REMARKABLE WORKS AT MARIETTA. — RUINS AT CIRCLEVILLE. — RUINS ON THE MIAMI. — RUINS NEAR CHILICOTHE. — TUMULI IN KENTUCKY AND ILLINOIS. — ARTICLES FOUND IN THE TUMULI. — SYMBOLIC WRITING.

IN the opening chapter I signified my intention to inquire into the origin of the ancient monumental and other remains of this country. From the result of recent investigations, there is no longer any doubt that America had been formerly inhabited by a numerous, powerful, civilized people.¹ The numerous ruins of ancient cities, temples, fortifications, pyramidal constructions, causeways and such like, recently brought to notice, are irrefragible evidence hereof. Throughout all the States of the Union, with the exception of those on the western border, these evidences of the numbers, greatness and civilization of a once powerful people, are everywhere to be seen. The same is also to be observed, and even with greater devel-

(1) "The ancient remains in the United States bear evident marks of being the productions of a people elevated far above the savage state." *Bradford's Researches into the Origin and History of the Red Race*; p. 21.

opment in Mexico, Central and Southern America. Before offering any opinion hereon, it is proper to make the reader acquainted with the character, number and extent of these works.

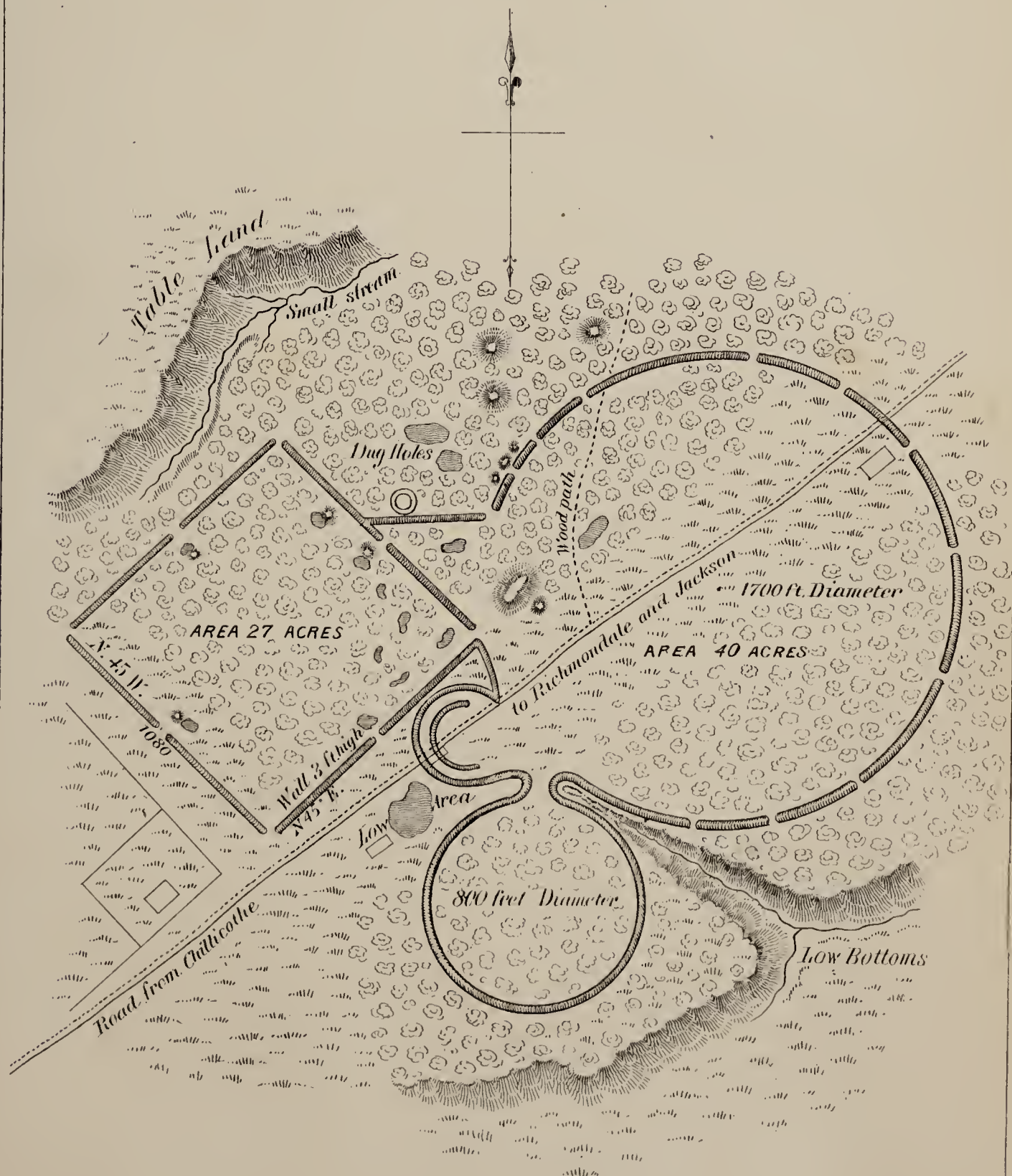
The first, and probably the most ancient, American ruin that invites our attention is to be met with on the Atlantic coast in the neighborhood of Providence. It is a circular earthen enclosure, on the Genesee, in the State of New York, comprising an area of six acres or more. It was partly surrounded by a ditch, while on one quarter a precipitate bank formed its defence. The enclosure was connected with the river by a causeway—a circumstance of usual occurrence in connection with works of the kind, as we shall afterward see.

On the Tonawanda, at an interval of a couple of miles, are the remains of two other enclosures, the one forming an area of *four* and the other of *eight* acres. The intermediate tract between the forts has been regarded as the site of an ancient city, from the signification of the name, which, in the Indian vocabulary, signifies the double fortified town. Much more important, both in extent and general outline, are the remains at Pompey, in Onandaga County, where a fortified town of *five hundred acres* is shown to have existed.¹ This large, populous town was defended by three circular forts, triangularly situated, and at equal distances. In keeping with this, if not even greater, are the

(1) Vide *Clinton's Memoir*.

ANCIENT WORK,
LIBERTY TOWNSHIP, ROSS COUNTY,
OHIO.

(Eight miles S.E. from Chillicothe)



numerous, extensive ruins on the south bank of the Licking, near Newark.¹ These works comprised an octagonal and circular fort, connected by parallel walls, a circular and square fort similarly connected, an enclosure containing one hundred and fifty acres, together with numerous small works of defence, underground passages, and an observatory thirty feet high. The area comprised by the whole was between three and four hundred acres. At Camillus, and on the Seneca river, like evidences of this ancient peoples' presence are to be seen. In short, all through the State of New York, from Massachusetts to Niagara, and from Delaware to the St. Lawrence, no less than *one hundred* of these ancient remains have been found.

In Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and all along the eastern coast, like traces of this once powerful, numerous, military race have been discovered. "Near Wheeling," writes Mr. Bradford, "there are appearances of fortifications or enclosures, commencing in the vicinity of the mounds upon Grave Creek, and continuing at intermediate distances, for *ten or twelve miles* along the banks of the Ohio. They consist of square and circular entrenchments, communicating with each other; of ditches, walls and mounds, and a broad causeway, leading from the largest enclosure towards the neighboring hills."

(1) *Archeologia Americana*, p. 137.

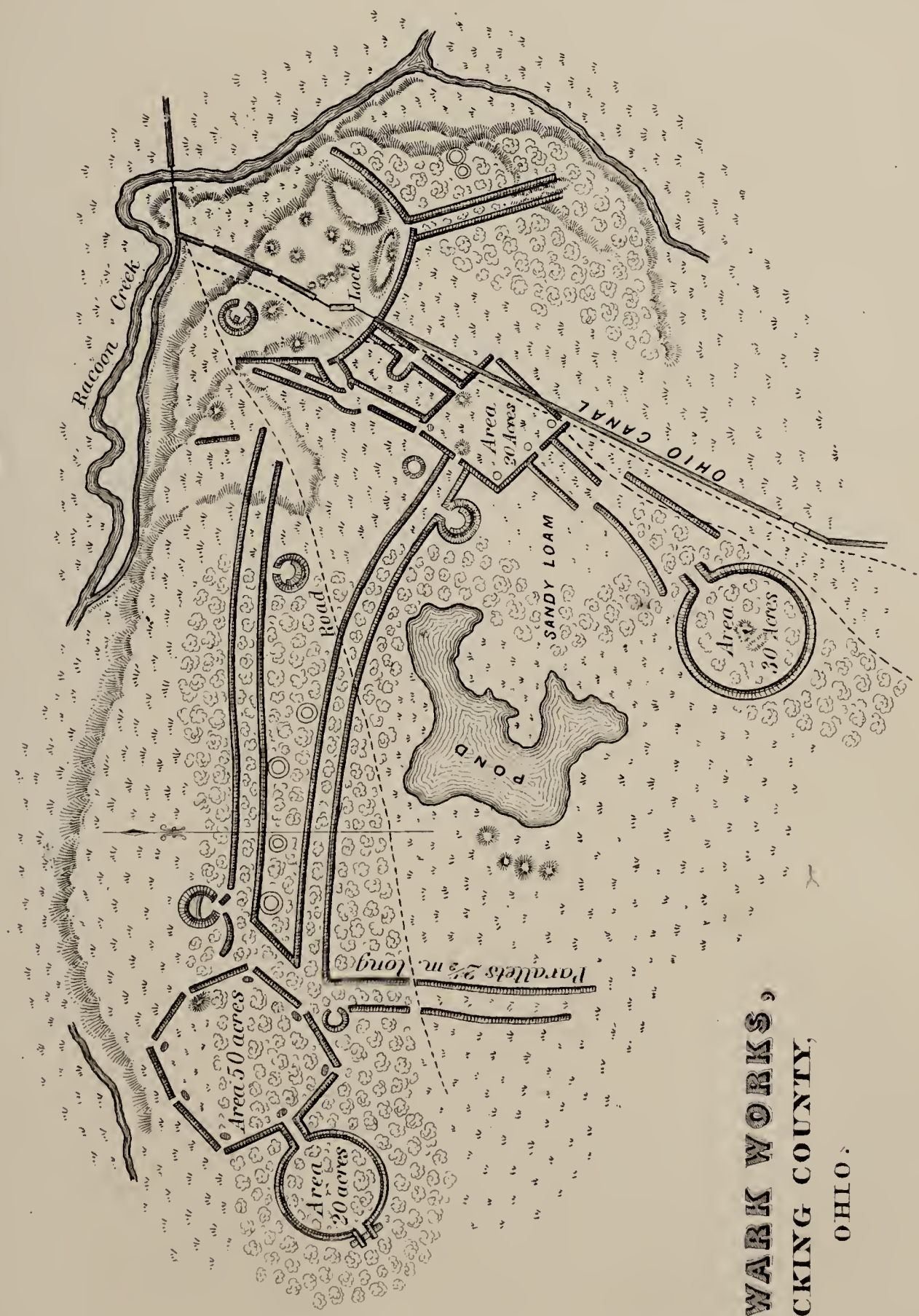
The banks of the Little River, the Ocmulgee, the Altamaha and the Savannah, present similar imposing monuments of the power, industry and skill of those ancient inhabitants. They comprise enormous conical pyramids, vast tetragon terraces, excavated areas, squares and embankments. The most notable and best deserving attention is a truncated conical mound, fifty feet high, and eight hundred in circumference at the base. The summit was reached by a spiral stair, while four niches, at different intervals, and corresponding with the four cardinal points, would make it appear that it was intended for purposes of religion. Around in the immediate vicinity are other erections, but inferior in size, varying from six to ten feet in height, but with a quadrangular area of four hundred feet. Mounds and terraces are also to be seen on the Chattahooche, a continuation of which extends into Alabama, and further to the south.

Continuing along the southern coast, on entering Florida, we meet with the same expressive monuments of the past. On an island in Lake George, at the junction of Marion and Orange counties, are the ruins of a considerable town, and a pyramidal mound or tower, similar to the one referred to above. The town was connected by a double wall with a neighboring plain or savannah, thereby indicating the agricultural character of the people by whom it was inhabited.

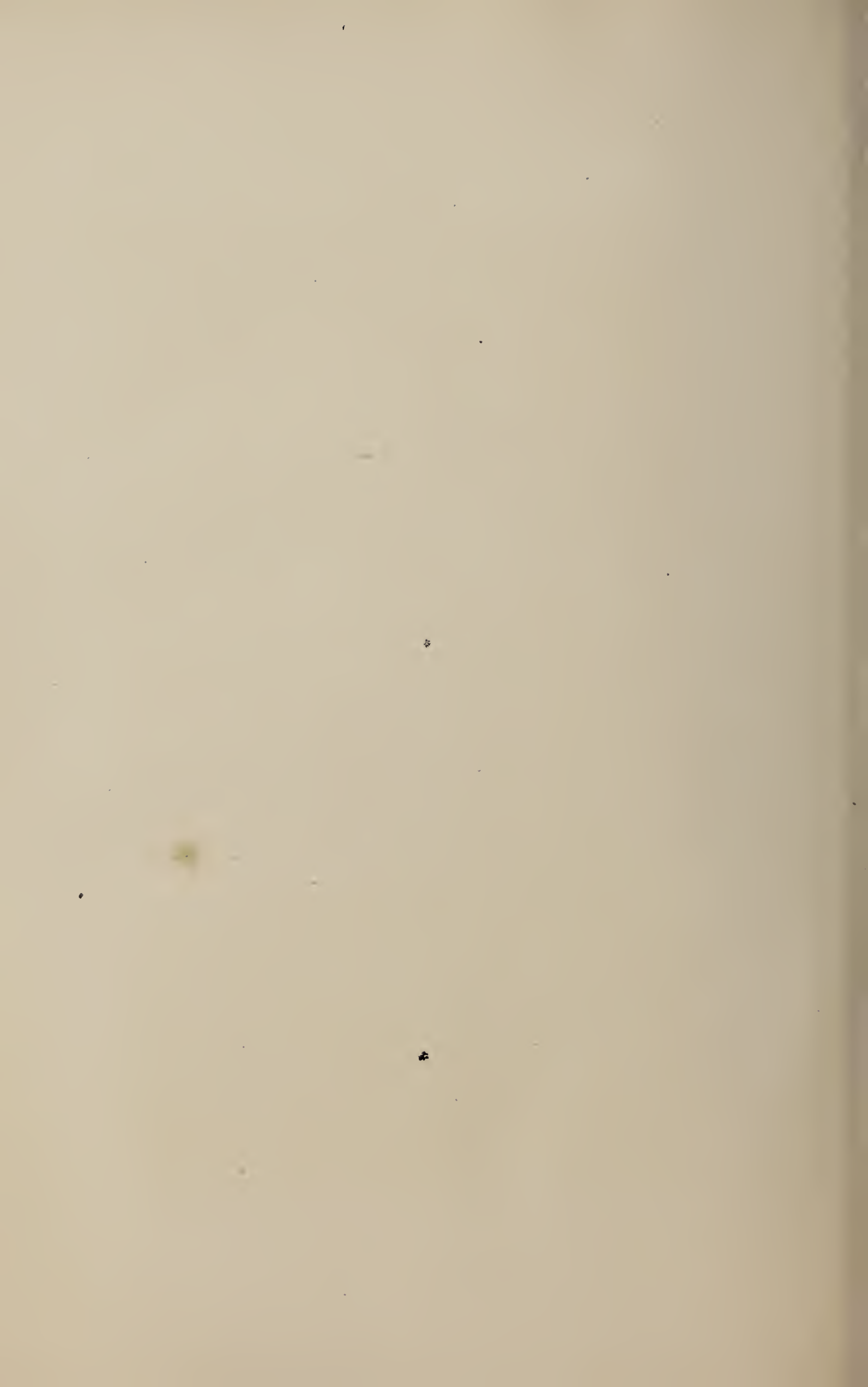
Returning to the State of New York, and directing our course westward in the direction of the lakes, on arriving at Salem, Ashtabula County, Ohio, we first meet with an enclosure situated upon a hill, and fortified by two circular walls, with a ditch intervening. From the enclosure an underground passage led to the water. Here, as in the last-mentioned ruins, skeletons, earthenware and other remains were discovered. At Marietta, near Newark, the most remarkable works we have yet noticed were situated. They are pronounced by Mr. Caleb Atwater, of the American Antiquarian Society, as the most extraordinary ancient remains anywhere to be found in the country. They consist of walls, mounds, squares and circles. Two extensive oblong enclosures, enclosing the one forty and the other twenty acres, are amongst the most remarkable. A rampart of earth from six to ten feet in height, and thirty in breadth at the base, formed their defence, while on each side three openings resembling gateways served the purpose of ingress and egress. The whole are thus carefully described by Mr. Harris in his tour: "The situation of these works is an elevated plain, above the present bank of the Muskingum, on the east side, and about a half a mile from its junction with the Ohio. They consist of walls and mounds of earth, in direct lines and in square and circular form. "The largest squarefort, by some called the

town, contains forty acres, encompassed by a wall of earth from six to ten feet high, and from twenty-five to thirty-six feet in breadth at the base. On each side are three openings, at equal distances, resembling twelve gateways. The entrances at the middle are the largest, particularly on the side next to the Muskingum. From this outlet is a covered way, formed of two parallel walls of earth, two hundred and thirty-one feet distant from each other, measuring from the centre. The walls at the most elevated part on the inside are twenty-one feet in height, and forty-two in breadth at the base; but on the outside average only five feet in height. This forms a passage of about three hundred and sixty in length, leading by a gradual descent to the low ground, where, at the time of its construction, it probably reached the river. Its walls commence at sixty feet from the rampart of the fort, and increase in elevation as the way descends towards the river; and the bottom is crowned in the centre, in the manner of a well-formed turnpike road.

“Within the walls of the fort, at the northwest corner, is an oblong elevated square, one hundred and eighty-eight feet long, one hundred and thirty-two feet broad, and nine feet high, level on the summit, and nearly perpendicular at the sides. At the centre of each of the sides the earth is projected, forming a gradual ascent to the top, equally regular, and about six feet in width. Near



NEWARK WORKS,
LICKING COUNTY,
OHIO.



the south wall is another elevated square, one hundred and fifty feet by one hundred and twenty, and eight feet high, similar to the other, excepting that next to the wall, there is a hollow way, ten feet wide by twenty high, leading toward the centre, and then rising with a gradual slope to the top. At the southeast corner is a third elevated square, one hundred and eight by fifty-four feet, with ascents at the ends, but not so high nor perfect as the two others. A little to the southwest of the centre of the fort is a circular mound, about thirty feet in diameter and five feet high, near which are four small excavation at equal distances, and opposite each other. At the southwest corner of the fort is a semicircular parapet, crowned with a mound, which guards the opening in the wall. Towards the southeast is a smaller fort, containing twenty acres, with a gateway in the centre of each side and at each corner. These gateways are defended by circular mounds.

“ On the outside of the smaller fort is a mound in form of a sugar loaf, of a magnitude and height which strikes the beholder with *astonishment*. Its base is a regular circle one hundred and fifteen feet in diameter; its perpendicular altitude is thirty feet. It is surrounded by a ditch four feet deep and fifteen wide, and defended by a parapet four feet high, through which is a pathway towards the fort twenty feet in width. There are other

walls, mounds and excavations less conspicuous and entire."

From the number, character and dimensions of these works it is easy to form an idea of the power and ability of those by whom they were erected. It is not to be supposed that men in a primitive state, unacquainted with the arts and sciences, could have been the authors thereof. The vastness of the ruins, the skill displayed in their erection, and their peculiar adaptation for military purposes, as well as the evidence exhibited of the square and the circle, forbid this idea. "The best military judges," writes Mr. Bradford, "have observed the skill with which the sites of many of the fortifications have been selected, and the artful combination of natural advantages with artificial means of defence exhibited in their construction. The care taken in their erection must have been necessary for protection against a powerful external enemy, or from internal wars. The latter was, probably, partially the case, as, extrinsic of other reasons, it is hardly likely that at so early a period, and in a state of semi-civilized society, this *great people* were united under one sovereign, or were free from internal commotions and revolutions."¹ "The care which is everywhere visible about these ruins," writes one of the contributors to the '*Archeologia Americana*,' "to protect every part from a foe without; the high plain on which they

(1) *American Antiquities*: Bradford, p. 70.

are situated, which is generally forty feet above the country, around it; the pains taken to get at the water, as well as to protect those who wished to obtain it; the fertile soil, which appears to me to have been cultivated, are circumstances not to be overlooked; they speak volumes in favor of the *sagacity of their authors*.”¹ And Mr. Harris, speaking of other ruins, to which we shall presently refer, says: “The engineers who directed the execution of the Miami work appear to have known the importance of flank defences, and if their bastions are not as perfect, as to form, as those which are in use in modern engineering, their position, as well as the long lines of curtains, are precisely as they should be.”² And Mr. Carver, another writer, bears similar testimony: “Though much defaced by time, every angle was distinguishable and appeared as regular, and fashioned with *as much military skill* as if planned by Vauban himself.”³

Again at Circleville, near the junction of the Hargus with the Scioto, were two earthen enclosures, remarkable from the fact of the one being an exact circle, and the other a perfect square, whose sides faced the four cardinal points. The circular fort was surrounded by a double wall with a deep ditch, the square being only encompassed by a single rampart. In point of strength, as a means

(1) *Archeologia Americana*, p. 130.

(2) *Harrison's Discourse*.

(3) *Carver's Travels*, p. 45.

of defence, the works were imposing and remarkable for the age in which they were erected. To the square there were eight openings, but to the circle only one. They were defended by redoubts immediately in front, about four feet high, and erected on terraces forty feet at the base and twenty at the summit.

In Warren county, between two branches of the Little Miami, on an elevated zigzag plateau, two hundred and thirty-six feet above the level of the river, the ruins of a powerful fortification exists. The plateau, which seems to have been a double fortification, extends to the distance of half a mile, and was defended both by its precipitate banks and by a wall, varying in height according to the nature of the ground, from eight to ten feet. On the side where it loses its elevation the enclosure is defended by a wall nineteen and one half feet high on the inside, with a base of four and a half poles. About twenty poles north-east from the upper fortifications are two mounds, connected with a third about a quarter of a mile distant, by two parallel embankments, each one pole wide and three feet in elevation. These embankments, or roads, before reaching the mounds in the distance, made a detour and united. The walls of the fortifications are entirely of earth and have numerous openings, so many, indeed, that several of them have been regarded as the effect of time. On the side of the plateau facing the river to the south-

west are three terraces, about thirty poles in length, formed in the embankment, and which appear to have served as means for defending the river.

Near Chillicothe, in the same State, on both sides of the Paint creek, numerous extensive ruins also invite the attention of the antiquarian. They are quite of the same character as those already introduced to the notice of the reader. They comprise forts, mounds, square and circular, roads, wells and oblong elevated works. The accompanying plate will enable the reader to form an estimate of their nature and extent. The square and circular forts on the northeast side of the river comprised seventy-seven acres. The dimensions of the elliptical elevations, of which there were two, were for the larger, three hundred and thirty feet long, one hundred and seventy broad and twenty-five high. The other was not so large. Both were constructed of stone, and probably served the purpose of monuments in honor of the dead, as they were found to contain a large quantity of human remains. The walls of all these ancient works were of the cyclopiian character, and not such as mere migratory hordes would be likely to form.

The fortifications on the south side of the river contained in all one hundred and twenty-six acres; they were surrounded by a ditch and a wall composed of the common soil, from ten to twelve feet

in height. The most important of this group is a fortification situated to the northeast, on an elevated hill three hundred feet high, parts of which are extremely precipitous. A wall of unhewn stone was thrown up all along the brow of the hill except at one point where the inclination is slight. The entire area of the fortification was one hundred and thirty acres, and from its natural and artificial advantages, must have been one of the most formidable strongholds in the country. Not to weary the reader with further details of a similar nature, suffice it to say that in every State of the Union, except as has been observed on the western slope, like evidence of the presence of this ancient powerful and populace race are to be found. "The traces of them," writes Mr. Brackenbridge to the American Philosophical Society, "are *astonishingly numerous* in the western country." "I should not exaggerate," he continues, "if I were to say that *five thousand* might be found, some of them enclosing more than a hundred acres."

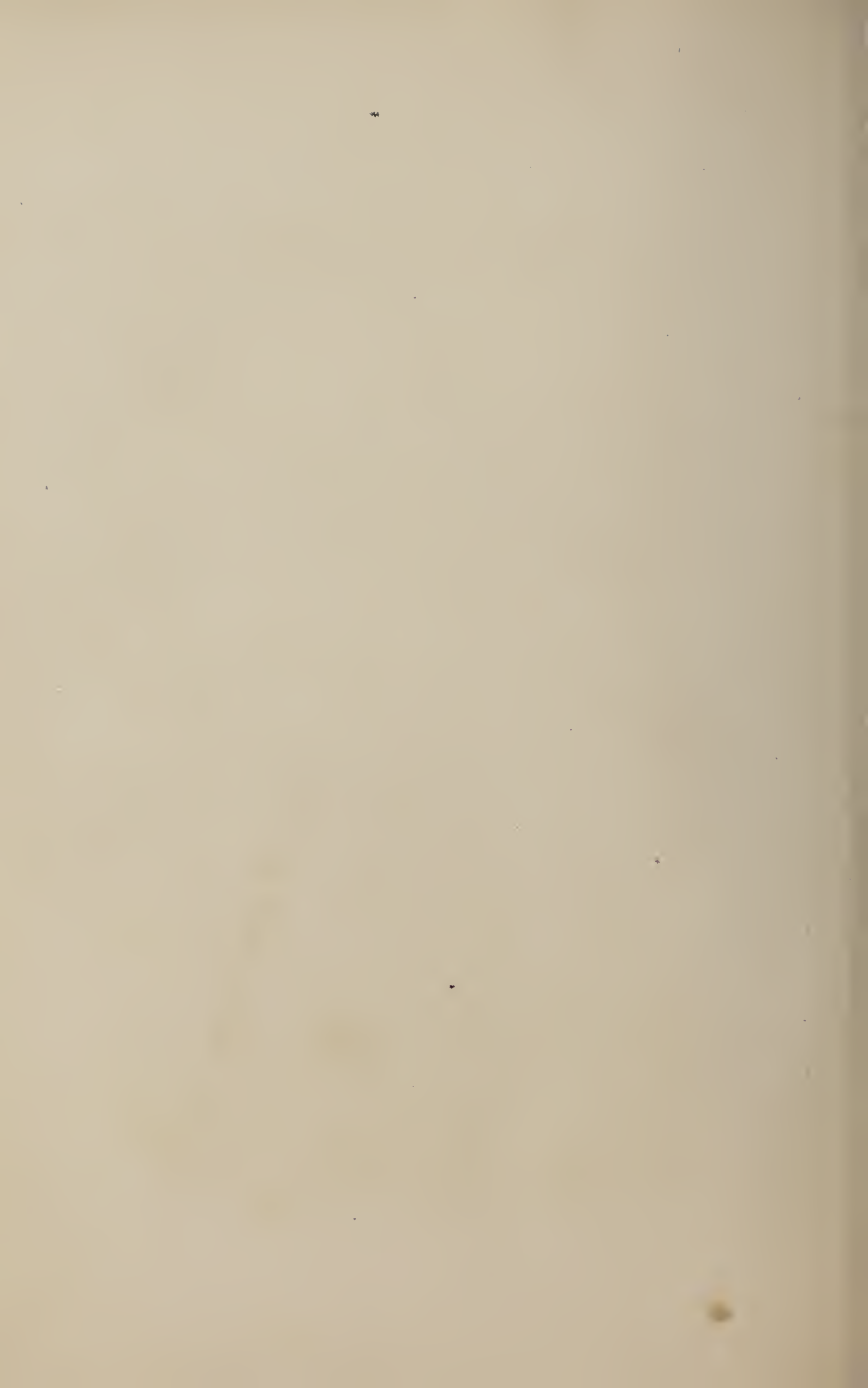
The monumental remains in the character of mounds and tumuli are even more numerous still. They are found in every part of the country."¹ As many as five hundred and more have been shown to exist in the State of Kentucky alone. In Il-

(1) "The tumuli, in what is called the Scioto County, are both numerous and interesting." *Arch. Amer.*, p. 176.

"These tumuli are very common on the Ohio, from its utmost sources to its mouth. Few and small, comparatively, they are found on the waters of the Monongahela; but increase in number and size as we descend towards the mouth of the stream at Pittsburgh." *Ibid.*

FORT ANCIENT, *East bank of the* **LITTLE MIAMI RIVER,** 33 miles above Cincinnati.





linois, within a small circuit of a few miles, one hundred and fifty have been erected. They are of various magnitudes, shapes, and altitudes, varying in circumference from twenty to two thousand four hundred feet and upwards at the base. Some of them, in the shape of truncated pyramids, are constructed upon artificially formed terraces of two and more stages. The fact of their being found to contain human remains leaves very little doubt as to the purpose for which they were erected. Those on the Muskingum were formed of clay, with a foundation of brick, a circumstance from which the semi-civilized condition of the people may be inferred. In some of them pieces of silver, copper, oxide of iron, arrow-heads and mirrors of mica have been found. At Cincinnati a mound of this kind, eight feet high, sixty broad and six hundred and twenty long, was found, upon examination, to contain, besides human bones, pieces of jasper, crystal, coal, carved vases, beads, lead, copper, plates of mica, marine shells and the sculptured representation of a bird's head. An examination of the mound at Circleville resulted in the discovery of a large quantity of arrow and spear-heads; of the handle of some unknown instrument with a ferule of silver, a large mica mirror, a plate of oxidized iron and two skeletons surrounded with ashes, charcoal and brick. The presence of the ashes, charcoal and calcineal remains are an indication that the obsequies were performed by cremation.

In Ohio, near Lancaster, where one of the same was examined, it was found to contain an enormous earthen coffin, eighteen feet long, by six wide and two deep. It rested on a thick layer of ashes and charcoal, and manifested by its appearance its having been subjected to the action of a powerful fire. It contained twelve human skeletons of different sizes and ages, strings of beads, shells, and curiously-wrought stone, being attached to the necks of the smaller ones. Knives, axes, ivory beads, copper wristlets, mica plates, and other such like objects, were also brought to light on the same occasion.

From the above and other numerous instances which might be adduced, we are warranted in drawing a series of important deductions respecting the origin, numbers, antiquity, civilization and mode of existence of this remarkable people. The uniformity and predominant features of the constructions, leave little to doubt as to the unity of the race. It is not to be supposed that different peoples, varying alike in habits, customs and language, would adopt the same modes of defence, and employ like methods for expressing their reverence for the dead. On the other hand, the vastness and number of these ancient remains, as well as their character for strength, and as means of defence against the hostile attacks of an enemy, establish the fact of their authors being a numerous civilized race, not a mere migratory horde, but a

people settled down in the country, living in populous communities, and as such, necessarily governed by laws, and in the enjoyment of some popular form of government. "No portion of the globe," writes the author last quoted, "offers more decisive evidence of having been occupied *for many ages by civilized nations*, than the southern regions of North America. At the time of the discovery, the ancient remains of the United States were deserted, and the people by whom they had been erected were apparently extinct; so that the question of their origin was a subject of inquiry to the antiquary rather than to the historian. In the vast territory at the south (Mexico), however, another spectacle was presented; there the Spanish invaders found populous nations, regularly organized States, aristocratical, monarchical and republican forms of government, established systems of laws, *immense cities*, rivaling in the style, character and magnificence of their edifices and temples, those of the *Old World*; and roads, aqueducts and other public works, seldom excelled in massiveness, durability and grandeur. The inhabitants were clothed, the soil was tilled, many of the arts had been carried to a high degree of advancement, and their knowledge in some of the sciences equaled if not surpassed that of their conquerors."¹ On the authority of Mr. Brackenbridge, we learn that as many as five thousand vil-

(1) Vide *Caleb Atwater, Arch. Amer.*, p. 222.

lages have been discovered in the valley of the Mississippi alone, and Mr. Caleb Atwater was of opinion that the State of Ohio once possessed close upon a million of inhabitants. That gentleman's grounds for this assertion seem to have been the number and extent of the ruins, as well as the number and capacity of the monuments. "Many of the mounds," he writes, "contain an immense number of skeletons. Those of Big Grave Creek are believed to be *completely filled* with human bones. The larger ones, all along the principal river in this State, are also filled with skeletons. *Millions of human beings* have been buried in these tumuli."¹

From the fact that the people lived in community, subject to rulers, and in the enjoyment of some popular form of government—for it would be unreasonable to suppose that works of such magnitude and number as we have referred to, could be erected without some governing power, capable of combining and controlling the labor of thousands—they must, as a necessary consequence, have made considerable progress in the knowledge of the arts and sciences, during those hundreds of years they inhabited the country. For as a community of interests is productive of law, and as law is the principle of order, and forms the boundary between the savage and civilized life, those in the enjoyment thereof are necessitated to advance

(1) Vide *Caleb Atwater, Arch. Amer.*, p. 223.

on the road of enlightenment, under the guidance and shadow of its encouraging influence. But apart entirely from conjectural reasoning, there is the most unequivocal evidence of the fact, in the monuments they have erected, and the works of art they have executed. Among the numerous objects disinterred from the tombs, some of which I have already alluded to, were gold and silver ornaments, bracelets, isinglass mirrors, oxidized iron, pieces of copper, medals, rock crystal, granite, stone axes and idols.¹

The isinglass, whose use it would seem, was applied to religious purposes, was discovered in several localities, the most remarkable being a large mica mirror about three feet long, a foot and a half broad, and one inch and a half thick, which was found on opening one of the principal mounds at Circleville. Over the glass was a plate of oxidized iron which somewhat resembled a plate of cast metal of the same material. From the same mound were brought to light a great quantity of arrow

(1) "Gold ornaments are said to have been found in several tumuli. Silver, *very well plated*, has been found in several mounds, besides those at Circleville and Marietta." *Arch. Amer.*, p. 223. "Copper has been found in more than twenty mounds, but generally not very well wrought. * * * Pipe-bowls of copper, hammered out, and not welded, but lapped over, have been found in many tumuli. * * * A bracelet of copper was found in a stone mound near Chillicothe. * * This was a rude ornament, and represented somewhat the link of a common log chain; the ends passed by each other, but were not welded together. I have seen several arrow heads of this metal, some of which were five or six inches in length, and must have been used as heads of spears. Circular medals of this metal, several inches in diameter, very thin and much injured by time, have often been found in the tumuli. They had no inscription that I could discover; some of them were large enough to have answered for breastplates." *Arch. Amer.*, p. 224.

heads and a small horn sword mounted with silver where the blade had been inserted. The instrument was forwarded to the Philadelphia museum.

In June of 1819, upon opening a mound at Marietta, some very remarkable objects were found; they consisted of three large circular copper bosses thickly overlaid with silver, and apparently intended as ornaments for a buckler or sword belt. On the reverse were two plates fastened by a copper rivet or nail, around which was a flaxen thread, while between the plates were two small pieces of leather. The copper showed much sign of decay, it was almost reduced to an oxide, but the silver, though much corroded, resumed its natural brilliancy on being burnished. In the same tumulus was also found a hollow silver plate, six inches long by two broad, and intended apparently as the upper part of a sword scabbard. The scabbard itself seems to have perished in the course of time, as no other portion of it was found with the exception of a few broken, rust-eaten pieces of a copper tube, which was likely intended for the reception of the point of the instrument. In addition to these there was also discovered in this same sepulchral ruin, a piece of copper of three ounce weight, a bit of ochre and a little lump of iron ore. The copper, which in shape resembled a builder's plumb, may have been used for architectural purposes. The iron ore was almost of the specific gravity of pure iron and presented the appearance of being partially smelted.

From these, and numerous other instances which might be adduced, it is evident that the people had advanced to a certain degree of civilization far removed from purely savage life.

The numerous sculptured remains recently brought to light are another evidence of this, and show that they carried the art of working in wood and stone to a considerable degree of perfection.¹

The remains of pottery found in many of the monuments are further evidence of the people's progress in art. Some of the vessels have been pronounced by competent authority to be equal to anything of the kind manufactured elsewhere in the world.² Some of the specimens discovered were found to have been formed on scientific principles, capable, in some instances, like our chemical vessels, of encountering a high degree of heat. They were formed of clay and pulverized sandstone or calcarious matter, artistically wrought, polished, glazed and burned. Of the former class

(1) "Beads of bone and shell, *carved* bones and hewn and *sculptured* stones are by no means rare. Their weapons and instruments were often formed from the oldest and hardest of rocks; and arrow-heads, axes and hatchets of granite, and horn-blade, *nicely cut and polished*, are of frequent occurrence. The covers of some of the urns are composed of calcarious breccia, *skillfully* wrought; the pieces of stone worn as ornaments, and found interred with the dead, have been drilled and worked into precise shapes, and the pipe-bowls with *beautifully carved reliefs*." *Bradford*, p. 25.

(2) "Two covers of vessels were found in a stone mound in Ross county, in this State, very *ingeniously wrought* by the artists and highly polished. These were made of calcarious breccia; fragments of which were examined by Professor Sullivan of Yale College, Connecticut. These covers resembled *almost exactly*, and were quite equal to, vessels of that material manufactured in Italy at the present time (1840)." *Arch. Amer.*, p. 227.

was one found further back than 1840, in the alluvial soil of the Ohio. It bore upon it the marks of fire and was proven to be capable of sustaining a great degree of heat. It was conjectured that it had been used as a crucible. Of the second kind was an urn found in Chillicothe, and said to be an *exact copy* of one discovered in Scotland.

If to this we add the important fact that they had a knowledge of the circle and the square, and that they invariably erected their religious edifices with openings towards the cardinal points, we cannot arrive at any other conclusion than that they were a tolerably enlightened and partially civilized race.

From recent investigations it also appears that this people were in possession, if not of a phonetic, at least a symbolic system of writing—a fact not even commonly known, nor even conjectured by authors. On a tabular mass of limestone, on the Mississippi, near St. Louis, were observed the appearance of the impression of two human feet, and immediately in front of them a scroll sculptured in an artistic manner. On the east bank of the Ohio, fifty miles south of Pittsburgh, on a large stratum of rocks, are numerous curious inscriptions, evidently dating from a very ancient period, and which have never been deciphered. The inscriptions, too, are a proof that the people must have been in possession of iron or hard metallic instruments, for otherwise they would not have been

able to form the characters on the rocks. In 1818 an inscription on hard stone, in twenty-two characters with a cross and a mask, was brought to light from a tumulus in Western Virginia. The most learned antiquarians who have examined the relic have been unable to agree upon its origin or signification. Four of the letters are said to resemble the Etruscan; four, the African; five, the ancient Runic; six, the Tonarik; seven, the old Irish; ten, the Phœnician; and fifteen, the Celtiberian. How far this may be in accordance with fact, we stop not here to inquire, but merely mention the circumstance as an evidence of the probable existence amongst that ancient people of a phonetic system of writing.

That they were possessed of a symbolic writing seems ever more certain still, from the representations of birds, beasts and other figures which they have left behind them. Upon one of the branches of the Tennessee river, as we learn from the transactions of the American Philosophical Society, there are numerous representations of beasts, birds and other objects. In Eastern Virginia, Bishop Madison speaks of having seen on a freestone rock several figures cut in relief; in one part was a tortoise, an eagle executed with much precision, a child and other figures. These were undoubtedly the first rude efforts of a people who afterwards attained to such eminence in more southern latitudes. They also offer a solution of the difficulty

respecting the authors of the hieroglyphical remains discovered in California, for, according to the traditions of the Mexicans, the progenitors of the Aztecs and others entered the country from the direction of California, thereby indirectly connecting that people with the ancient inhabitants of the States.

PART II.

GREAT ANTIQUITY OF THE RUINS.—PROOFS THEREOF.—OCCUPATION OF THE PEOPLE.—IDENTITY OF THE AUTHORS OF THE MOUNDS WITH THE MEXICAN RACES.—WHENCE THE MEXICAN RACES EMIGRATED.—THE OLMECS.—TOLMECS.—AZTECS.

IN the preceding chapter, we have laid before the reader some of the reasons assigned for maintaining that the people of whom we speak were a numerous and enlightened race, far removed from the savage state. From their numbers and civilization, we now pass to their origin, and the antiquity of the works they have left. The latter we shall treat in the first place.

The antiquity of the American remains may be conjectured, by considering the time that must have elapsed from the erection of the first to the last of these populous towns, as well as the periods of occupancy. Cities are not built and abandoned in an age. It is to be remembered that upon the first landing of the Europeans, in the fifteenth century, no clue, not the faintest tradition could even then be obtained to the solution of this most difficult problem. The natives, in every instance, were utterly unconscious of their origin, and disclaimed both for themselves and those of their race

all relation therewith. ¹ Further, the Mexican historians, who point to the northern part of the country as the permanent abode of their progenitors for centuries, fix as the period of their migration, the age immediately succeeding the advent of the Christian religion. Ages, then, probably elapsed from the time that the first of these ancient remains was erected till the last was completed.

Clavigero, in his *History of Mexico*, assigns several reasons for the antiquity of the American races. Of these, their ignorance of those arts and inventions which, on the one hand, being very ancient, are, on the other, so useful, not to say necessary, that being once discovered they are never forgotten. Of this class is the use of wax and oil for light, a knowledge of which was not possessed by the Americans. Secondly, because the civilized American races preserved in their traditions and symbolical writings, the memory of all the notable facts of the most ancient times; such as the creation of the world, the deluge, the tower of Babel, the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of the people; while, at the same time,

(1) "Les voyageurs Français et Anglais, qui visitèrent la côte des Etats-Unis et des Florides, ainsi que le pays des Natchez, sont d'accord pour reconnaître que les habitants de les contrees pretendaient être sans occuper ces territoires depuis que l'Amerique Centrale était occupee par les blancs, c'est-à-dire depuis le sixieme siècle. Or les dernières emigrations ne savaient plus par qui avaient été construit les monuments considerable et nombreuse, qui couvrent encore la vallée du Mississipi, et principalement la rive orientale du fleuve, et cependant ces monuments, sont parent de ceux de l'Yucatan et du Mexique." *Antiquities Americaines*, p. 21.

they had no recollection whatever of any subsequent events which happened in Europe, Asia and Africa, though many of them were very remarkable, and as such not easily to be forgotten. And here it is only proper to observe, that while the traditions and hieroglyphical records of the polished American races are a confirmation of the leading Biblical facts of ancient times, they are at the same time an answer to and refutation of the theories of Betancourt, Gemelli and others, that this country had been inhabited previous to the deluge and was not affected thereby.

But, independent entirely of conjectural reasoning, there is positive evidence of the most satisfactory kind in behalf of the antiquity of the American ruins. No monumental inscription or historic account, it is true, can be offered in support of the fact, but what is equally convincing and satisfactory to the inquirer—the unmistakable record of ages, written in the physical order of creation; springing from amid the ruins of many of these ancient remains of towns, temples, and strongholds are majestic trees, whose concentric circles, or annual layers of wood, prove them to be of extraordinary age; and not only that, but presenting even evidence of being a second, if not a third and a fourth growth. “Most of these monuments are covered with forests, and while many of the trees, from their vast size, and the number of their *annual layers* of wood, are appa-

rently of great age, the vestiges of decayed wood, and the absence of uniformity of character peculiar to a recent second growth, demonstrates that *several generations of trees* have sprung up and disappeared since these works were deserted."

"The sites of the ancient works on the Ohio," writes Mr. Harrison, "present precisely the same appearance as the circumjacent forest. You find on them all the beautiful variety of trees which give such unrivaled richness to our forests. This is particularly the case in the fifteen acres included within the walls of the works at the mouth of the Great Miami, and the relative proportions of the different kinds of timber are about the same. * * Of what immense age must be those works, so often referred to, covered as have been supposed, by those who have the best opportunity of examining them *with the second growth*, after the ancient forest state had been regained."

Another argument in favor of the great antiquity of the ruins, are the various physical changes which have manifestly occurred since their erection, and which could only be the result of natural causes protracted through centuries. Thus, in Florida, what were once manifestly lakes being approached by avenues from these works, are now dry land; nor is there any record or recollection among the natives when the change took place. In the west, in like manner, on the margin of de-

(1) Bradford, p. 64.

sented lakes and altered rivers, are to be found similar remains, while in the State of New York, we are assured that the line of mural remains is bounded by the ancient shores of Lakes Erie and Ontario. Whether, then, we regard these works as respects their numbers, character and extent, or base our deductions on the absence of all traditional knowledge thereof on the part of the red man, or suffer ourselves to be guided by the physical evidence of nature, the conclusion in every instance is the same, respecting their great and extraordinary antiquity.

As regards the occupation of the people, judging from the situation and locality of the remains, on the banks of rivers, in the interior of the country, and in extensive fertile valleys, the conclusion seems certain that they were an agricultural rather than a commercial race. In the west, their traces are to be found on the margins of all the great rivers, from the lakes to the Mexican gulf. Even upon the arrival of the Spaniards, some traces of the same mode of existence were to be seen.

The question, then, to be determined is, who was this ancient people who have left such evidence of their power, numbers and intelligence? Whence did they come and when? Were they of European or Asiatic origin, and at what period are we to fix the commencement of their history. These, it is to be observed, are questions which

for three hundred years and upwards have demanded a satisfactory answer, but failed to obtain it. The most minute and learned researches have failed to determine the question. Philosophy, archeology and history have alike declared their inability to unravel the mystery. Like so many sphynxes waiting for another Odipus to solve the problem of their origin, these numerous ancient remains of towns, cities and strongholds lie everywhere scattered through the land, the mute monuments of a once great powerful, but unknown race.

Reasoning on general principles and analogous instances of languages, customs and manners, several theories have been adopted and indulged in, which, in many, if not in most instances, but ill-accord with the nature of the case, and fail to give anything like a satisfactory solution of the problem. According to Lord Kingsborough, the compiler of the voluminous collection of hieroglyphical writings published at Dublin, the progenitors of the Mexican race, whose history he would connect with the works of which we are speaking, were an offshoot or branch of the once chosen people of God. After entering the country by Asia and wandering for centuries, according to him, through the northern parts of America, they finally settled in Mexico, and became the founders of that powerful kingdom which existed on the arrival of the Spaniards. Others, as the

author of the conquest of Mexico, are inclined to attribute their origin to a Tartar and Mongolian source, while those are not wanting who would not trace them to any particular race, but would make them a combination of different people, Etruscans, Egyptians, Monguls, Chinese and Hindoos !

Although a great diversity of opinion exists regarding the authors of the ancient civilization of America, it is almost universally acknowledged that at least two entirely different races inhabited the country from the remotest ages. The one, it is thought, was of Asiatic, and the other of Scythian, or Indo-European descent. This appears to be established, both by the great difference of physical and mental endowments, the architectural remains, and the traditional and historical accounts of the natives themselves. The passage of both into the country was, according to some from the north-western part of the country, by the Aleutian islands and Behrings' Straits, while others are of opinion that the course pursued by one body of the people was by the northern countries of Europe through Iceland, Greenland and Labrador.

Without waiting to examine the claims of these theories, which at best are only vague and indeterminate, and merely deal with the subject in its general aspect, I shall here respectfully solicit the attention of the reader to a circumstance which may serve to throw light on the subject, and enable

us further on to arrive at a tolerably accurate judgment.

In the opinion of the most judicious and learned authorities, the authors of the ancient Mexican civilization, whether Toltic, Aztec or other, were all of a common descent—branches of the same original stock. They spoke the same language, professed the same religion and observed the same customs. Though migrating at different periods from the sixth to the twelfth century, they are all represented in the Mexican annals as coming from the north-eastern part of the continent, where they had been settled for ages. “There cannot be a doubt,” writes Clavigero in his history of Mexico, “that the men who first peopled that country came originally from the northern part of America, where their ancestors had been settled *for many ages.*”¹ It is also affirmed by native historians that during the course of their wandering, a series of contests were engaged in, an assertion which, if true, and there is no reason to doubt it, would establish the fact that this people were not the original race, at the same time that it would account for the necessity of those fortified towns of which we have spoken.

Judging them from the traditional and historical testimony of the Mexicans, there are grounds to believe that their race, the founders of Mexican civilization, were the descendants of those by whom

(1) *Hist. Mex.*: Clavigero, vol. 11, p. 83.

the great works found within the limits of the American Republic were formed. The great and almost entire similarity of the ruins, both in the one case and the other, the line along which they are traced, as well as the acknowledged inability of the red man to accomplish such works, are all evidences of the same. The predominating characteristics of the North American ruins are the truncated pyramid, terraced elevations, circular and quadrangular mounds. The same is to be said of the Mexican and South American remains.¹ The Teocalli, or Mexican Temples of God, are regularly-formed terraced elevations on which was erected the temple of the Divinity. The Mexicans worshiped the sun and constructed their buildings and towers corresponding with the cardinal points, while the names by which the religious constructions were named seems to have been identical in both instances.² The coincidence is further observed in the fact that the temples and mounds were surrounded in both cases by ditches and trenches, and oftentimes connected with others in the distance by roads and underground passages.

(1) "The form of our works (American) is round, square, semi-circular, octagonal, etc., agreeing in all these respects with the works in Mexico. The first works built by the Mexicans were mostly of earth and not much superior to the common ones on the Mississippi." *Archæologia Americana*, p. 244.

"In Peru and Mexico there are many vestiges of fortifications similar to the mural remains of the United States. * * * The earthen causeway on the plains of Varinas resembles many in the United States, and ancient earthen entrenchments have been observed even in Chili." *Bradford*, p. 169.

(2) *Adair*, p. 378.

The fortresses in the State of Missouri, the sculptured remains, symmetrical arrangements of the parts, and the like, are counterparts of those to be seen in the once powerful empire of the Aztecs. The method, too, employed for means of defence, such as palisades, earthen entrenchments and bastioned walls, all indicate a like similarity of origin. And what lends still greater weight to this argument is, that animals proper to Mexico were once known to exist in the States. About thirty years ago the head of a *sus-tajassus*, or Mexican hog, an animal not indigenous to the United States, was found in a high state of preservation in the nitrous Mammoth Cave of Kentucky. The nitre, it appears, preserved it from decay. Referring to this circumstance, a writer in the "Archæologia Americana" says: "It had been deposited there by the ancient inhabitants, where it must have lain for *centuries*. I am not aware of this animal being found north of Mexico. The presumption is that the ancient inhabitants took these animals along with them in their migration until they finally settled themselves in Mexico." ¹

To the foregoing might be added numerous other analogous instances, such as the use of the cyclopean arch, similar sculptured remains, national costumes, method of interring the dead, etc. And not only in Mexico and the United States of America is this analogous coincidence in the works

(1) *Arch. Amer.*, p. 244.

of the past to be found, but it is equally observable in the southern continent, in Chili and the neighboring republics, thereby creating the impression, nay, justifying the conclusion, that the authors in both instances were of an identity of origin of the same original stock. "Earthen mounds are found in Colombia, Peru and Chili, *similar* to those of North America, and like them containing the bones of the dead, besides articles which disclose to us many proofs of the degree of civilization attained by their builders." Some of the tumuli, as those in Chili, were of imposing altitudes, the one at Callao, near Quito, being two hundred and fifty feet high, while a terraced elevation in the same locality, is described as of *incredible height*, and in every way similar in its outline to those in the States. The bodies interred in the tumuli were ordinarily found in a sitting or squatting position; but those in the graves were laid horizontally, a circumstance which would seem to imply that the former were the remains of the leaders or chiefs, and the latter those of the people. The articles found in the tombs were of considerable variety. They consisted, like those found in the States, of gold, copper, stone and earthen objects; jars, axes, spear-heads, collars, bracelets and idols were also among the number; nor were there wanting such objects as spades, lances, clubs and feathers.

The conclusion to be arrived at on a comparison

of these analogous objects, can be no other than that noted already. People of different races do not produce analogous works, or adopt similar customs. The manners, habits and customs of the European are essentially different from those of the Indians; nor do the works of the Arian ever accord with those of Turanian origin. When to this we add the traditions of the people themselves, respecting their migrations from the northern part of the country, where they affirm their ancestors had been settled for ages; as also the line along which the ruins are found, those of the States being connected with those of New Spain, we cannot arrive at a safer or more reasonable deduction than that the authors in both instances were persons of a similar origin. Indeed, so reasonable is this, that no one who has given the matter particular attention, has ever come to a different conclusion.

The difficulty, then, is not in connecting the authors of the ruins of the north with those of the south, not in showing that those of the States are of like origin with those of Mexico, but it is rather to determine who were the Mexican and Acolhuan race, the latest descendants of those powerful civilized peoples spoken of in Mexican history under different names. This is the special question at issue, which it has hitherto been found so difficult to answer, but which, if determined, would set the other forever at rest. Even those

who have hitherto dealt with the subject, have, for the most part, only treated it in general terms, pointing out to their readers, for such reasons as seemed best to their judgment, the Caucasian, Turanian or Indo-European descent of the people. Until, however, greater light is thrown on the subject, and the progenitors of the American and Mexican civilization be traced to a definite people, the immediate subject of inquiry will remain undetermined, and a large field for speculation and theory remain permanently open for inquisitive minds and antiquarian research.

In the absence of all reliable historical evidence, it will be necessary to conduct our inquiries on traditional and analogous principles. By this it must not be supposed that the solution of the question would be rendered more difficult, or the argument less solid, for if reasoning based on tradition be admissible in the establishment of divine revelation, there is no reason why its force should not be admitted in connection with merely historical matters; while as regards the arguments deduced from analogy, their value is commonly known to be equal, and in some instances superior to unsupported historic narrations. As far, however, as national and contemporary history will suffer, we will be guided in our inquiries thereby, and suffer it to assume in the argument that prominence and position which its character for veracity and weight may demand.

As has been stated above, the entire Mexican people were all admittedly of the same original stock. They all, according to the native historians, came from the northeastern part of America—the seat of their ancestors for ages. The names under which they were known, and the epochs of their different migrations, are carefully recorded in the Mexican annals, and arranged in the following order: Tolmecs, Chichimees, Acolhuans and Aztecs or Mexicans. The Tolmecs commenced their migration from the north in the year 596 of the christian era, and after wandering for the space of one hundred and four years, arrived at last at a place near the present city of Mexico, where they built a city, and named it, probably, after their original country, *Tula*, or Tollan.¹ The tradition current in the country on the arrival of the Spaniards, was that their ancestors, by whom they understood the Tolmecs, of whom we are speaking, had been banished from their own country in the north, which was known to them as *Huehuetappallan* or *Huehuetlapallan*.² The very striking and remarkable similarity between this and the name *Huetramanaland* spoken of in the chapter on the arrival of the Northmen and the Irish on the Atlantic border, cannot fail to arrest the attention of the reader. It will also be remembered that *Huetramanaland*, or White Man's

(1) "The Aztecs were said to have brought the name of their former country with them, and this designation possibly relates likewise to their ancient locality." *Clavigero, Hist. Mex. ; vol. i, p. 1.*

(2) *Historia de Mexico, por Carvajal Espinosa.*

Land, was also indifferently called Irland-it-Mikla, or Great Ireland. But of this we shall speak more at large in the development of the argument.

The Tolmecs, after a reign of four hundred years, their numbers being very much lessened by famine, pestilence, and intestine divisions, abandoned the country, and passed, it is thought, into central and southern America, where they became the authors of the ancient civilization of those parts. They were succeeded on Mexican soil, in 1170, by another branch of the same stock, the Chichimees, a rude and illiterate race, who, like the former, entered the country by the north. These were likewise succeeded in turn by the Aztecs or Mexicans, and the Colhuans or Acolhuans. The former arrived in 1196, and the latter in 1200. It was not, however, till a century later, in 1325, that the Mexicans laid the foundation of that remarkable empire found to exist on the arrival of the Spaniards.

Of the different races here introduced to the notice of the reader, the Tolmecs were by far the most notable and civilized. They were admittedly the fountains or source whence were derived the knowledge and refinement enjoyed by the others.¹

(1) "They were the most celebrated people of Anahuac, were renowned for their civilization, skilled in art, always lived in society, collected into cities under the government of kings and laws, etc. The nations that succeeded them acknowledged themselves indebted to them for their knowledge of the culture of grain, cotton, etc. They had a wonderfully correct *astronomy*; they had mention of the eclipse that occurred at the time of the death of the Saviour." *Boturini. Clav. Hist. Mex.*, p. 87.

Skilled in the useful sciences and the mechanical arts, in agriculture and architecture, their name passed into a synonym for science, and they became known under the appellation of architects. "Of these races," says Prescott, "the most conspicuous were the Tolmecs. * * * They were well instructed in agriculture, and many of the most useful mechanical arts; were nice workers of metals, and invented the complex arrangement of time adopted by the Aztecs; and, in short, were the true fountains of the civilization which distinguished this part of the continent in later times." Who this remarkable people were, whence they came, and at what period they entered America, shall form the subject of the following chapter.

PART III.

WHERE THE AUTHORS OF THE MOUNDS ENTERED AMERICA.—FIRST ASIATIC
MIGRATION IN A WESTERN DIRECTION.—THE TUATHA DE DANAANS. —
SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE TUATHA DE DANAAN WORKS IN IRELAND
AND ANCIENT AMERICAN REMAINS.

IN THE preceding chapter it has been stated that the original abode of the Mexican races was in the northern part of the continent. This historical fact has been established by the traditions and hieroglyphical writings of the people; by the analogy of the ancient monumental and other remains, as well as by the unmistakable evidence of the course of migration pursued by the people, as evidenced in the line along which the ruins are found.¹ A further examination of the subject now leads us to inquire, in the first place, whence the authors of the ancient remains in the States entered America. Did they come from the east or the west? Were they of Arian or Turanian descent? That they were not of Arian origin and did not

(1) "Our (American) ancient works continue *all the way into Mexico*, increasing, indeed, in size, number and grandeur, but possessing the same forms, and appear to have been put up to the same uses." *Translations of the American Antiquarian Society*, p. 244.

"We see a line of ancient works reaching from the south side of the Lake Ontario across this State on to the banks of the Mississippi; along the banks of that river, through the upper part of the Province of Texas, around the Mexican Gulf *quite into Mexico*. And the evidence is as strong when thoroughly examined, that they were erected by the *same people*, as there would be that a house found standing alone on some wild and uninhabited heath, was erected by the hand of man." *Ant. Amer.*, p. 248.

enter by the north-western part of the country, appears satisfactorily evident from the undeniable absence of all similar ruins on the western slope higher than the present boundaries of Oregon. If the great migratory course of this people had been from the west, and not from the east, it is only reasonable to suppose that some trace or proof of their presence would be found in those regions to the north through which they happened to pass. In vain, however, do we search in the whole of Russian and British America for any such evidence, the line of ancient remains of towns, tumuli and fortifications extending no higher than the fortieth degree of latitude.¹ To suppose that this people, whose course has been so extensively marked by such a succession of works throughout the whole of the States from Maine to Florida on the east, and thence to New Spain on the west, would have left no monumental remains, no fortified town, no terraced elevation, no circular or quadrangular fort, no work, in a word, of any description from Minnesota to the Arctic Ocean, on the hypothesis that they migrated from that quarter, is entirely incredible and utterly at variance with every reasonable supposition.

The manifest improvement in the works they have left, their relative merits, numbers and strength, commencing with those on the eastern

(1) "*They do not approach the colder regions, nor reach to the shores of the Pacific.*" *American Antiquities*, p. 61.

border, and advancing by a south-westerly course till we arrive at the valley of Mexico, where they evidently attained their highest perfection, is an additional proof that the course of the migration was from the east, and not from the west.¹ When to this we add the traditions of the people themselves,² the similarity of the ruins, the mode of existence, and the generally admitted Turanian origin of the race, with the entire absence on the other hand beside mere hypothetical conjecture regarding their north-western course, the inference to be drawn is readily seen, and leaves little to be doubted respecting the truth of our theory. Furthermore, it is a fact established in history, pointed out in the annals of the most primitive nations, that the migratory courses of peoples have been guided, and in great measure, controlled by the natural position of the land and the course of its rivers. Hence nothing is more reasonable than that those who entered from the west should have continued their course along the same western slope till they reached the Californian valleys, where, it

(1) "An observing eye can easily mark in the works the *progress* of their authors, from the lakes to the valley of the Mississippi, thence to the Gulf of Mexico, and into *South America*; their increased numbers, as they proceed, are evident; while articles found in and near these works show also the progressive improvement of the arts among those who erected them." *Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society*, p. 190.

(2) "The Toltecs are the oldest nation of which we have any knowledge, and that is very imperfect. Being banished, as they tell us, from their own country, Huehuetapallan, which we take to have been in the kingdom of Tollan, from which they derived their name, and situated to the *north-west* of Mexico, they began their journey in the year 1, Tecpatl, that is in the year 596 of our era." *Hist. Mex.: Clavigero*, p. 84.

is only reasonable to suppose, they would have settled, or, at least, have tarried for a time, so as to have left some evidence of their presence in the shape of monumental remains, while those on the other hand, who landed in the east, would have naturally followed the course marked by the ruins in a south-westerly direction.¹ It is, then, the only reasonable and satisfactory opinion the case will admit of, that the authors of the ancient American ruins, who were shown to have been the progenitors of the Mexican races, came originally by an eastern course and entered the country from the Atlantic, most probably in the neighborhood of Providence, where we find apparently the first of their works already alluded to. Thus far several writers, who have treated the subject, agree with much that has been advanced, but when further details are demanded, and the origin and advent of the race required, nothing but doubt and conjecture meets us on all sides. Indeed, so complex and difficult has the subject been found at this stage that many have abstained from examining it in its further development, resting contented with having established the Turanian, or Indo-European descent of the people. Until, however, a more definite answer is given, and the country, time and race whence this ancient American people migrated

(1) The ruins are traced on the Atlantic border from Providence to Florida; thence they turn in a westerly direction, and after passing through Alabama and Louisiana, sweep round by the borders of Texas and into New Mexico, whence they finally pass into Mexico proper and further to the south.

be satisfactorily established, the field will ever remain open to inquiry, and the general public unsatisfied as to the solution of the difficulty.

In dealing with the subject in its ultimate bearings, it will be necessary to establish, in the first instance, the probable period at which this remarkable people landed upon American soil. The country whence they came, and the name under which they were known, will form the second part of the inquiry. And here, lest any misapprehension might exist in the mind of the reader, it is only proper to observe it is not our intention to deny the entrance into America by a north-western route of one part of the inhabitants. On the contrary, we believe them to have been the aborigines of the country, against whom those works of defence, of which we have spoken, were raised by that civilized people whose origin we are now seeking to account for. That a supposition such as this is required to be made in order to meet the nature of the case must be plain to the reader, for men do not without a purpose erect lines of defence through a vast area of country; and when we find a series of such works of great magnitude and importance, the only reasonable and satisfactory explanation to be given for their existence, is, that they were intended as a protection against the hostile attacks of an external, rather than an internal enemy. But into this it

is not necessary to enter minutely; our duty is to deal with another branch of the subject.

Of course, in the absence of all positive historical evidence, it will be necessary in the solution of our case to have recourse, as we have said, to analogical and traditional proofs. As far, however, as the ancient history of the world may be useful to our purpose, we will suffer ourselves to be guided thereby, resting for the remainder on the other class of evidence. In treating the first part of the subject, namely, the probable period of this peoples' arrival in the country, it will be necessary to go back to a period coeval if not anterior to the establishment of the Christian religion. I say coeval with or previous to, for both the traditions of the people and the character of the ruins point to such a time.

On examining the history of the dispersion of the human race, as recorded in the most ancient annals, we learn that the first great migratory wave in a western direction from the cradle land of the family of mankind, was of Phœnician origin, and happened about three hundred years after the deluge. The chief or leader of this party was Partholan, who landed in Ireland with his followers, A. M., 1978.¹ These were succeeded three hundred years later by the Nemedians,² also Phœ-

(1) See *Keating's History of Ireland*, p. 114.

(2) Some writers suppose that the Nemedians came immediately after Partholan, but Carmac Mac Culinan puts it down at three hundred years.

nicians, who, after possessing the country for some time, were overthrown by the Fomorian and banished the Island. Divided into three bodies, they betook themselves one to the northern countries of Europe, where they became the progenitors of the Tuatha Dè Danaans, who afterwards returned to conquer the island; another retired into Greece, where they were known as the Firbolgs or bagmen; and the third found a refuge in Britain, which was called after their leader, Briotan Maol. After three hundred years, the Tuatha Dè Danaans returned to take possession of the island, which they enjoyed till the arrival of the Milesians in 1268 B. C. On the third day after the landing of the latter, the battle of Sliab Mis, in the county of Kerry, was fought, in which the Milesians were completely victorious, and their enemies driven into a narrow section of the country, where they found refuge for a time, before leaving in search of a more permanent home.

From this no further mention is made of the Tuatha Dè Danaans in connection with history. They passed away as silently as if they had never occupied a prominent position in the world. In the annals of no country is there any allusion to their subsequent wanderings. Strange, indeed, that this should be so, considering their character for science, knowledge and naval affairs. To my mind the problem is not difficult of solution. Banished from Ireland, they passed onward further to

the west, landed on American soil, and became the progenitors of that race of which we are now treating. The date at which they would have arrived in America, according to this, would be twelve hundred and odd years before the establishment of the Christian religion, an epoch which not only does not do violence to the traditions of the people, but very satisfactorily corresponds to the character of the ruins as still to be seen.

As has been stated above, on being overcome by the Milesians in 1268 B. C., they lingered for some time in the country, and finally betook themselves to sea in quest of a permanent home. That the course they pursued on leaving the island was to the *west*, and not to the *east*, is sustained by the traditional belief known to exist in Ireland, but especially on the western coast as early as the introduction of the Christian religion. Speaking of the voyage of St. Brendan to America in 545, the author of the illustrated history of Ireland says: "Traditions of a far away land *had long existed* on the western coast of Erin. The brave Tuatha Dè Danaans were singularly expert in naval affairs, and their descendants were by no means unwilling to impart information to the saint."¹ From this it is clear that a tradition existed in Ireland in the sixth century among the remnant of the Tuatha Dè Danaans who were still to be found in the country, that

(1) *Illustrated History of Ireland*, p. 131.

some of their ancestors had in former days sailed in a westerly direction. And this national tradition is confirmed from the fact that the western part of Ireland was the last stronghold of the Tuatha Dè Danaans, independence in that country, as is evidenced from the numerous works of defence they erected there. But, independent entirely of this, there is ample evidence of a different character to show that they did sail in a westerly direction, as will appear by the following:

During the two¹ hundred years they possessed the sovereignty of Ireland they erected in various parts of the country a series of civil, military and religious works, which, in the absence of all documentary evidence, will readily enable us to trace them in their subsequent wanderings. These ancient, civil and religious remains are, as a learned author aptly expresses it, the few imperfect, scattered fragments of history which have outlived the destruction of nations, and have been preserved to us through the revolution of ages.

The principal works erected by the Tuatha Dè Danaans in Ireland, many of which are yet in existence, were forts, raths, catharains, mounds or tumuli, cromleighs and cranogues. The origin of the round towers is not entirely a matter of certainty, though it is probable that its origin is to be attributed to that people. The forts were gen-

1) The Tuatha Dè Danaans ruled in Ireland one hundred and ninety-seven years. See *O'Bremian's Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 216.

erally, though not always, circular enclosures of considerable size, with enormous massive walls of clay, or unhewn stone without any cement. They were like the works in the States, surrounded by ditches and trenches, and approached by roads, such as those on the Miami and at Newark. The reader will probably prefer to have the description in the words of the last quoted author on Ireland: "They (the ancient Irish monuments) consist of enclosures, generally circular, of massive clay walls, built without any kind of mortar or cement, from six to sixteen feet thick. These forts, or fortresses, are usually entered by a narrow doorway, wider at the bottom than at the top, and are of cyclopean architecture. * * *

The most remarkable of these forts may still be seen in the Isles of Arran, on the west coast of Galway; there are others in Donegal, in Mayo and in Kerry. Some of these erections have chambers in their massive walls, and in others stairs are found round the interior of the wall; these lead to narrow platforms varying from eight to forty-three feet in length, *on which the warriors, or defenders, stood.* The fort of Dunmorh, in the middle island of Arran, is supposed to be, at least, *two thousand years old.*"¹ At page one hundred and ninety-five of the same work we also read: "Forts were erected for defence, and the surrounding fosse was filled with water. They were in fact the proto-

(1) *Illustrated History of Ireland*, p. 120-121.

types of the more modern castle and moat. These forts were sometimes of considerable size, *and in such cases were surrounded by several fosses and out-works.* They were approached by a winding inclined plain, which at once facilitated the entrance of friends, and exposed comers with hostile intentions to the concentrated attacks of the garrison. The fort at Granard is a good example of this kind of building. It is probably of considerable antiquity, though it has been improved and rebuilt in some portions at a more modern period. The interior of it evidences the existence of several different apartments. *An approach internally* has been exposed on one side, and exhibits a wide flat arch of common masonry springing from the top of two side walls, the whole well constructed.

“Forts of dry wall masonry, which are undoubtedly the more ancient, are very numerous in the *south-west of Ireland.* It is probable that similar erections existed throughout the country at a former period, and that their preservation is attributable to the remoteness of the district. The most ancient of these ancient habitations is that of Staigne Fort, near Derryquin Castle, Kenmare. This fort has an internal diameter of eighty-eight feet. The masonry is composed of flat-bedded stones of the slate rock of the country, which show every appearance of being quarried, or carefully broken from the larger blocks. * * * A competent authority has pronounced that these struc-

tures cannot be equaled by any dry masonry elsewhere met with in the country, nor by any masonry of the kind erected at the present day.¹"

The Rath, which was also a circular enclosure, but used for a different purpose, had its walls likewise of clay, though sometimes of stone, and was defended *by outworks*. "Its form is circular, having an internal diameter averaging from forty to two hundred feet, encompassed by a mound or outer fosse or ditch. In some localities where stone is abundant, and the soil shallow, rude walls have been formed—the Raths, however, are principally earthwork alone." And speaking of the Rath of Tara, the same writer says: "This rath is *oval*, and measures about eight hundred and fifty-three feet from north to south; it contains the ruins of Farradh and of Teach Carmac (the House of Carmac). A pillar-stone was removed, in 1788, to the centre of the mound of the Farradh; it formerly stood by the side of a *small mound lying within the enclosure* of the Rath Riogh." The reader will not fail to recognize here the general character of the ancient American ruins which as has been shown consisted of circular, elliptical and other enclosures of massive clay and dry stone walls, defended from without by ditches and ramparts, as in Ireland. The winding inclined plane, spoken of in connection with the Irish works, as well as the subterraneous

(1) *Illustrated History of Ireland*, p. 196.

approaches, as in the case of the fort of Granard, are also characteristics common to the American ruins, while the platforms on which we are told the ancient Irish warriors stood to defend their enclosures, are exact counterparts of some to be found in this country. “ In Warren county, on the banks of the Little Miami river, and between two branches of it, we find the summit of an elevated plain, defended by walls, etc. * * Upon the side facing the Miami, *three terraces* are cut out of the bank, and *command the passage of the river.*” The important fact, too, that in neither instance have the authors of the ruins left any stone or other habitation behind them, is a further indication of an identity of origin. Indeed, so evident is the analogy that no one who has ever treated the subject has attempted to deny it. Speaking of the ancient remains of Delvin, or Inch-Tuthel, on the Tay, in Britain, which are known to be counterparts of the Irish remains, Mr. Caleb Atwater, the learned contributor to the American Antiquarian Society, says: “ Their walls, ditches, gateways, *mounds of defense before them*, and everything about them *resemble our works here.* * * * I shall not trouble myself to examine authorities as to works of this kind in various parts of the British Isles, because I might fatigue without instructing the reader. What has been already said applies to many, very many others throughout England, Scotland, Ire-

land and Wales. They were places of worship, burial and defense for the Picts, so called by the Romans because *they painted themselves like the aborigines of this continent.*"

PART IV.

SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE CUSTOMS OF THE TUATHA DE DANAANS AND THOSE OF THE AUTHORS OF THE AMERICAN RUINS. — IDENTITY OF WORSHIP. — LANGUAGES. — NAMES. — TRADITIONS. — UNITY OF ORIGIN. — CONCLUSION.

THE next class of analagous works in Ireland and America are the monumental remains. Tumuli, as we learn from several writers, were erected in various parts of ancient Erin, not, indeed, as extensively as we find them on this continent, and that for the very obvious reason that Ireland was only the casual and America the permanent abode of the race. As recently as 1838, a monument of this kind might be seen in the Phoenix Park, Dublin. It was an earthen tumulus, one hundred and twenty feet in diameter at the base, with an altitude of fifteen feet. Upon examination it was found to contain four sepulchral vases with ashes, two perfect male skeletons and some bones. Shells were also discovered under the heads of the skeletons.

The presence of the sepulchral vases, containing the ashes of the departed, is an incontrovertible proof that cremation, at least in some instances, was practiced in ancient Ireland. The same was the case with the ancient Americans. A mound at Circleville, on examination, disclosed two skel-

etons, surrounded with ashes and charcoal; others at Cincinnati presented the same result; while an examination of the mound at Marietta, Mr. Bradford tells us, resulted in demonstrating that the funeral obsequies in those instances, "had been celebrated by fire."

But it is not the fact of cremation having been practiced in both instances that makes the analogy entirely to our purpose. It is rather the casual observances of it in the one case and the other, thereby making it appear that to the leaders or chiefs only was this honor reserved. "Cremation," says the author of the *History of Ireland*, "does not appear to have been the rule as to the mode of interment in ancient Erin, as many remains of skeletons have been found; and even those antiquarians who are pleased entirely to deny the truth of the historical accounts of our early annalists, accept their statements as to the customs, of the most ancient date.

"When the dead were interred without cremation, the body was placed either in a horizontal, *sitting*, or recumbent posture. When the remains were burned, a fictile vessel was used to contain the ashes. These urns are of various forms and sizes. The style of decoration also differs widely, some being but rudely ornamented, while others bear indications of artistic skill, which could not have been exercised by a rude and uncultivated people." Exactly the same customs are known to

have prevailed among the authors of the American mounds. Some, as we have shown, were burned, and some buried, the latter being evidently the more common mode of honoring the dead, as is clear from the vast quantity of human bones disinterred from the tumuli. Of those buried, some also were placed in a *sitting*, and some in a *horizontal* position. "In the saltpetre cave in Warren county, Tennessee, two bodies," writes Mr. Bradford, "have been discovered *interred in a sitting posture*." And in another part of his work, the same author says: "Human bodies have been discovered near the Cumberland river, in the same State, in the nitrous caves near Glasgow, and in the Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, *all placed in the same sitting posture*, clothed in skins and clothes of various textures, inlaid with feathers—the bodies remaining in a high state of preservation, and the hair generally of a color varying from brown to yellow and red." The latter circumstance would certainly point to the European origin of the people. It is true this may be explained by referring it to the chemical action of the nitrous cave in which they were deposited; but there is no necessity whatever of having recourse to such a supposition, nor, indeed, is it hardly permissible, when it can be explained in the ordinary way.

As regards the horizontal and recumbent burial of the dead, as mentioned among the ancient customs of the Irish, we have exactly their counter-

part in the customs of this country. "The tumulus described as ninety feet high, at Circleville, stood on an eminence, which also appeared to be artificial. It contained an immense number of human skeletons, of every size and age, *all laid horizontally*, with their heads towards the centre, and feet towards the outside of the mound. Stone axes, knives, and various ornaments were found deposited generally near the head of every individual."¹ On Grave creek, near Wheeling, there were several mounds, one of which, upon being opened, was found to contain two vaults. In the lower chamber were two skeletons, which appeared to have been interred in a sitting posture. The upper chamber contained a great variety of objects, such as ivory-beads, copper-wristlets, etc., and the flat stone inscribed with unknown characters, of which I have spoken above. The writing, as has been noted, has not been deciphered—a circumstance which would incline us to believe that it must belong to a period and a people of whom there is now no known living record. It is thus spoken of by an eminent writer in an article to the Smithsonian Institute: "An inscription in apparently some form of the *Celtic character* came to light in the Ohio valley in 1838. This relic occurred in one of the principal tumuli of Western Virginia (the ancient Huetramanaland, or Great Ireland). It purports

(1) *Bradford.*

to be of an apparently early period. * * * It is in the Celtic character, but has not been deciphered." Peter Kalum, professor of political economy in the University of Abo, in Finland, while making a tour through the country in 1748, likewise came upon another flat stone, on which were also engraved some unknown characters.

From the general character of the buildings, fortifications and mode of honoring the dead, we shall now direct our attention to the religious worship of the people, and see what analogy existed between it and that of the Tuatha Dè Danaans.

Of the religion of the Tuatha Dè Danaans little is known beyond the important fact that they worshipped a *triune Divinity*. "The colony of the Tuatha Dè Danaans," writes Keating, "thus called from three of their chiefs—children of Danan, daughter of Dealboith of the race of Nemedius.

* * * These three brothers were married to three sisters; they took surnames from different idols which they worshiped. Eathur, who had married Banba, was called Macciul from a certain kind of wood which he adored. Teabur espoused Fodhla and worshipped the plough; he was called MacKeaght. Keabur, husband of Erie, displayed better taste than his brothers, as he took the sun for his divinity, and was thence called MacGreine, that is to say the Son of the Sun." The same is perhaps more clearly set forth in the following

verse from the Lobar Gebala, or Book of invasions:

The land of talismans sacred Dana
Was where they learned their science,
And became skilled in wizard lore,
And Druid rites and Devilishcraft.

* . * * * *

Brian, Iucharba and the great Iuchar,
The three Gods of the Sacred race of Dana.

* * * * *

In application of the foregoing it is necessary to show that the worship of a *triune* Divinity, was common to the authors of the ancient American mounds. This we shall not find much difficulty in doing. More than half a century ago, a vessel, moulded into a triple representation of the human face, was disinterred from an ancient work on the Cumberland river. It is thus described by a member of the Smithsonian Institute: "It consists of three heads, joined together at the back part of them, near the top, by a stem or handle which rises above the heads about three inches. This stem is hollow, six inches in circumference at the top, increasing in size as it ascends. These heads are all of the same dimensions, being about four inches from the top to the chin. The face at the eyes is three inches broad, increasing in breadth all the way to the chin." To this it may be objected, that as the vessel was intended probably for household, and not for religious purposes, its triple character would afford us no grounds for building an argument in favor of our hypothesis.

It must, indeed, be admitted that independently of more positive evidence it would not be sufficient to establish an analogy, but when we find in other parts of the country the most irrefragable evidence of the worship of a triple divinity, then this, too, must be admitted as evidence. At Nashville, Tennessee, an *idol* was found representing the human figure under three different aspects. From this an attempt was made to connect the authors of the mounds with the people of Hindostan, but it should be remembered that no individual case of analogy would be sufficient to establish a similarity of origin. It is only when all the bearings of the case point in the same direction, when numerous correlative proofs can be advanced in support of the same, that the hypothesis assumes an aspect of certainty and affords reasonable grounds for credibility. Taken, then, apart from other considerations, this individual case would prove very little, while on the other hand, received in connection with what has been already said on the subject, it becomes an additional proof of a community of origin between the ancient people of Ireland and the first European inhabitants of this country. Another idol, formed of clay and gypsum, which was also found about the same time and in the same locality, also deserves the attention of the reader, from the fact that its head was surmounted by a conical cap—a circumstance which would likewise connect

that people with the ancient Irish Druids. The head-dress of the Irish Druids was, as is known to all, a conical-shaped cap similar to the Persian hat, And that this was peculiar to the priesthood of the authors of the ruins seems undeniably evident from the sculptured remains which they have left in the country; for near the confluence of the Elk and the Kanawha are to be seen several ancient remarkable sculptured figures of men and animals, among which is that of a man engaged in prayer and wearing a *conical-shaped cap*.

Another analogous instance of the common origin of those races, was the worship of the sun. Bel, or Belus, was worshiped by the Tuatha Dé Danaans, as we have shown.¹ He was also worshiped in this country at the period of which we speak, as is clear from the numerous medals, representing the sun's rays, that have been found in the tumuli. It is further established from the conformity of many of the ancient remains with those of the Mexicans, which are admitted by all to have been devoted to the worship of that luminary.²

The evidences of similarity adduced in the foregoing are further confirmed and corroborated by the analogy known to exist on ethnological and

(1) Vide St. Patrick's confession where sun-worship is condemned. Tide McGeoghan: *Hist. Ireland*, p. 56.

(2) "On the top of the great Mexican Teocalli were two colossal statutes of the sun and moon; they were of stone and covered with plates of gold, of which they were stripped by the soldiers of Cortez." *Humboldt's Views of the Cordilleras*.

philological grounds. Speaking of the great variety of the type existing in America, Mr. Charney, author of the cities and ruins of this country, says: "The photographs taken of different persons born in Mexico, which we have under our eyes, cannot but confirm this opinion. Those proofs furnish us instances of persons appertaining to the *Finic race*, whose character is perfectly recognizable. Others there are more noble, reproducing the salient traits of the sculptured figures at Palenque, * * * with a very slight tinge of white; * * * then there are persons whose ethnic character recalls *the beautiful white type*, although far removed from the Celtic or Spanish race, which is *always distinguishable* in the midst of these different peoples known at present under the name of Mexicans. Before the arrival of the Europeans in the sixteenth century there were then at Mexico statums of various races from the yellow Finic, or Turanian, *to the white race.*"¹

As regards the philological anatomy between the Celtic and the American languages, the most eminent writers have admitted the affinity. Chevalier Bunsen, than whom few could be more competent to offer an opinion on such a matter, was of the belief that many of the American languages were of Turanian origin. "It is not yet proved in detail," writes this eminent philologist, "but it appears highly probable in conformity with our

(1) *Cities et Ruines Américaines*, par Mons. Charney, p. 9.

general principles, that the native language of the northern continent of America, comprising tribes and natives of very different degrees of civilization, from the Esquimaux of the polar regions to the Aztecs of Mexico, are of *one origin and scion*."

The same was the opinion of the eminent philologist, Rask, who, according to a writer in the Smithsonian collection, was the first to establish on incontrovertible grounds the actual affinity between the Turanian, or, as it is called, the Scythian and American languages. He proved that the Finic had once been spoken in the northern extremities of Europe and America.

According to Rask, therefore, the Finic, or Scythian, formed a layer of languages extending in Asia from the White Sea to the valley of Caucasus; in America, from Greenland southward, and in Europe from Finland as far as *Britain, Gaul and Spain*. Grotus, Adlung, Vater, Müller, and others, are partly of the same opinion; and even the illustrious Leibnitz seemed to have contemplated its possibility, and acknowledged its importance when he wrote: "If there be any island beyond Ireland where the Celtic language is in use, by the help thereof we should be guided as by a thread to the knowledge of still more ancient things,"¹

Not to weary the reader, then, with further de-

(1) "Et si ultra Hiberniam esset aliqua insula Celtici Sermonis, ejus filo in multo adhuc antiquiora duceremur." *Leibnitzius Collect., Etymol.* vol. 1, p. 153.

tails, as this is not intended to be a complete treatise on the subject, we shall advance only one or two more analogous instances in support of our argument. The foregoing, it is to be hoped, has not failed to convince the reader of the affinity on several points between the ancient Irish and American races. It is now proposed to show that the names by which the latter were known, and which they gave their cities, were of Tuatha Dè Danaan origin.

That the name by which the authors of the ruins in the States were known was Toltec, Taltec, or something of a kindred orthography, there can be very little doubt, from the fact that the first people who passed thence into Mexico were denominated Toltecs. The same, with only a slight difference, the reader will remember, was a very prominent name in Tuatha Dè Danaan history, and one, too, by which that people, in all probability, were known as a race. Talti, the daughter of Maghmor, King of Spain, and married to a Tuatha Dè Danaan chief, was one of the most remarkable personages of her time. It was in her honor that annual fairs or assemblies, called Tailteen, were instituted by Lugaidh, surnamed Lamfada, or the long-handed. These fairs, which were a species of Olympic game, were celebrated annually with great rejoicing, and continued for a fortnight. The name passed eventually from the festivals to the locality where they were held, and hence the name

Telltown, in the county of Meath, Ireland. It is not improbable that, from the locality the appellation passed to the people themselves. Indeed, there is every reason to believe it did; for as they assumed the name *Tuatha Dè Danaans*, in honor of three of their leaders, another and greater name having now arisen, a name with which was bound up the principal national enjoyment, and the great religious observances of the country, it is not improbable to suppose that the appellation passed to the people themselves. It was thus that several, if not most nations, have come by their names, even after they had existed as a people, and been known under other appellations for a considerable time. As instances, the Romans, from *Romulus*; the Britains from *Briotan Maol*; and the Scotch from *Scota*, may be regarded as apposite examples. Nor should it be made an objection that *Talt* and *Toltia* are not similar words, for it is clear that there is as much an affinity between them as between *Romulus* and *Romans*, *British* and *Briotan*.

The name by which the Toltecs called that part of America, and where their ancestors had resided for ages was *Huehuetapdallan*, or *Huehuetlapallun*, as we find it in some authors. The very great similarity between this and *Huetramanaland*, the name given to that part of the Atlantic border which, as we have proven in a former chapter, was inhabited from Ireland, cannot fail to be observed.

It is, also, a remarkable fact, and well deserving of attention, that the name Ireland, or Irland, as it was known to the northmen, is an appellation derived from Eire, a queen of the Tuatha Dè Danaan race. In the similarity of the above quoted names, then, we have, as it were, a thread in our hand by which we are led with almost infallible certainty to the solution of this remarkable problem, the origin of the Toltec race.

The argument in its simplest and concisest form, may be stated thus : The Toltecs, according to their universal traditions, came from that part of the American continent which men called Huehuetapallan, an abode which must necessarily mean that section of the country comprising the present southern and midland States, as is shown from the line along which the Toltec ruins are to be found, from Mexico on the Atlantic border. But that very part of the country was, as we have shown, known to the northmen in the ninth century as Huetramanaland, or Great Ireland, an appellation it received in consequence of its having been colonized from Ireland. Therefore, the conclusion naturally forces itself on our minds, that as the Huehuetapallan of the Toltecs can by no reasonable supposition be any other than the Huetramanaland, or Irland-it-Mikla of the Icelandic historians, the latter being an appellation given to that part of the country by colonists from Ireland, the Toltecs are hereby inseparably connected

in their origin with the ancient inhabitants of Erin.

But, much more satisfactory than the foregoing, is the hieroglyphical map drawn up by the Aztecs themselves of their peregrinations, a copy of which was published by the Mexican government in 1858, from the original, which is at present in the archives of Mexico.¹ In this map the people are represented in the first instance as sailing from an *island* and proceeding to the west.

Now, their having come from an island in the east, in which a temple is represented to have existed, with steps leading to the top, somewhat similar to the Mexican theacallies, is an additional proof in our favor, for there is no other island in the world that presents evidences of ancient pagan temples similar to those of Mexico in former times, except ancient Erin, in her round towers, with their spiral stairs leading to the top; and it is now the most probable opinion that these towers were erected by the Tuatha Dè Danaans, for the purpose of sun-worship.¹

Then, as respects the name Tule, or Tollan, that given to the first city established in Mexico by the Toltecs there, is the strongest presumption in favor of its eastern origin. "Nothing is more natural," writes Humboldt, "than that they should have given this place the name of their original settlement." They are even represented

(1) See *O'Bremian's Antiquities*.

by Mexican historians as having brought it with them. And we know that one of the names by which Ireland was known in the time of the Tuatha Dè Danaans signified exactly the same as Tule, that is, "the end of nations."¹

The name also occurs in the actual orthography in connection with ancient Celtic works. Speaking of the remains at Delini, on the river Tay, in Britain, and which, as I have stated before, are recognized by archeologists as similar to those near Newark, in the States, Boethius says that they were called by the Picts *Tulina*. This is remarkably corroborated by the traditions of the Mexicans regarding the original seat of their ancestors in the east, which they place *beyond the sea*, and denominate *Tula*. The emigration of the race is thus stated in the *Cahchiquel* manuscript, a work professing to give an account of the first inhabitants: "Four persons came from Tulan from the east. There is another Tulan in Xibalbay, and another in the west, and it is there we came; and in the west there is another, where is the God. Wherefore, there are four Tulans, and it is to the west; we came from Tula, from the other side of the sea, where we have been conceived and begotten by our fathers and mothers."² Hence, according to their own traditions, the people came originally from the east, from beyond the sea, and

(1) See *O'Bremian's Antiquities*.

(2) See Charney.

from a country which was denominated Tule, a name which, as we have seen, occurs in connection with the ancient works of Britain of the Tuatha Dè Danaan period.

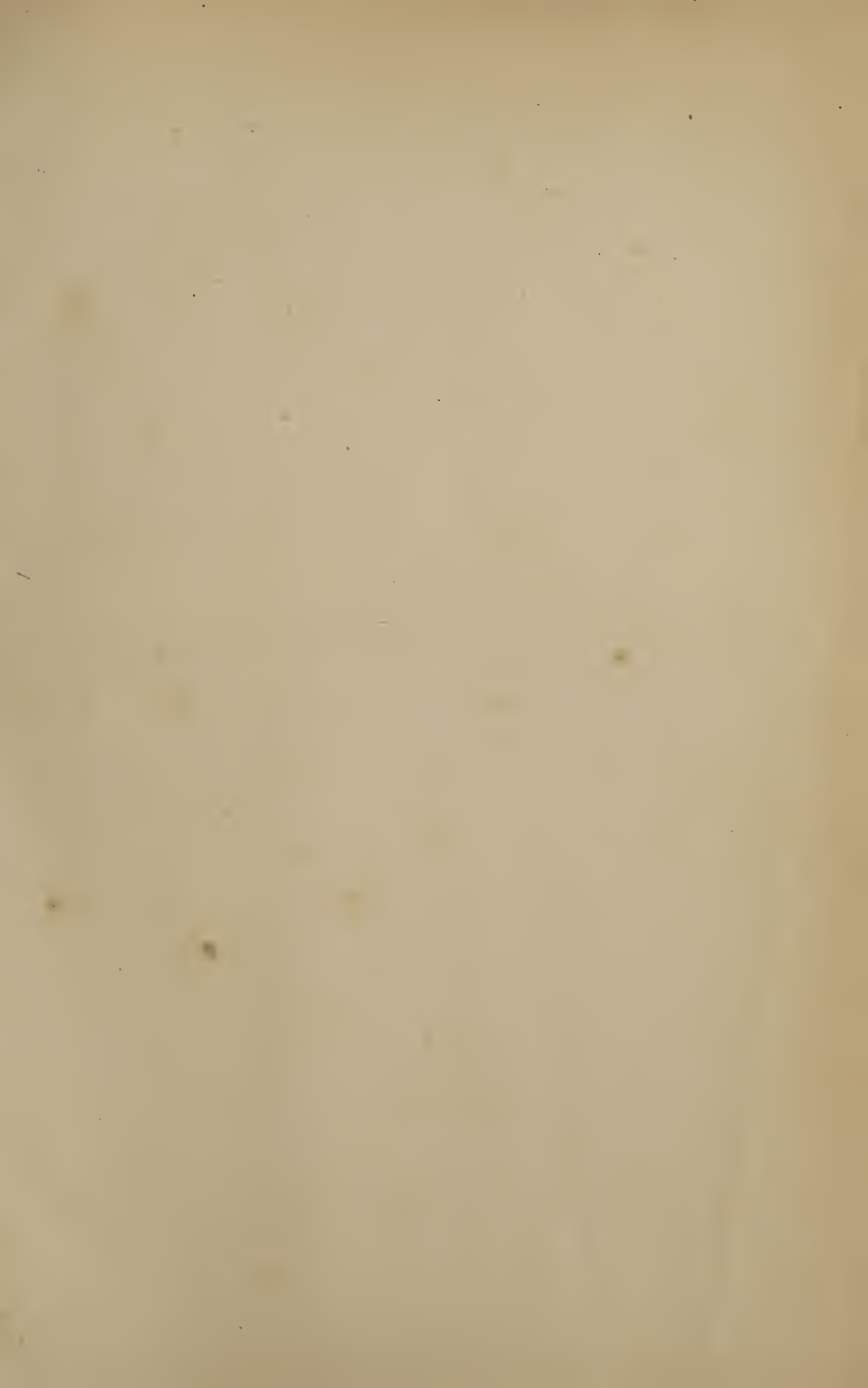
Whether, then, we view the subject as regards the traditions of the people, the character and antiquity of the works, the similarity of religion, the period of migration, or the name of the race, the same irresistible, incontrovertible evidence is found in favor of our theory. It is not, indeed, our intention to deny that certain analogous customs and practices cannot be shown to have existed between the people of whom we are treating and entirely different races, for in several particulars the entire human family present similar characteristics. It is not, then, from any individual or casual analogous instance of language, type, or customs that we seek to establish an identity of origin, but from the entire harmony and coincidence of all the particulars referred to above. And viewing the matter on these general grounds, there seems to us the most satisfactory evidence, as far as it is possible to arrive at a solution of the kind, that the ancient monumental and other remains of the United States of America are to be attributed to the Tuatha Dè Danaans, who landed in America from Ireland about five hundred years before Christ.

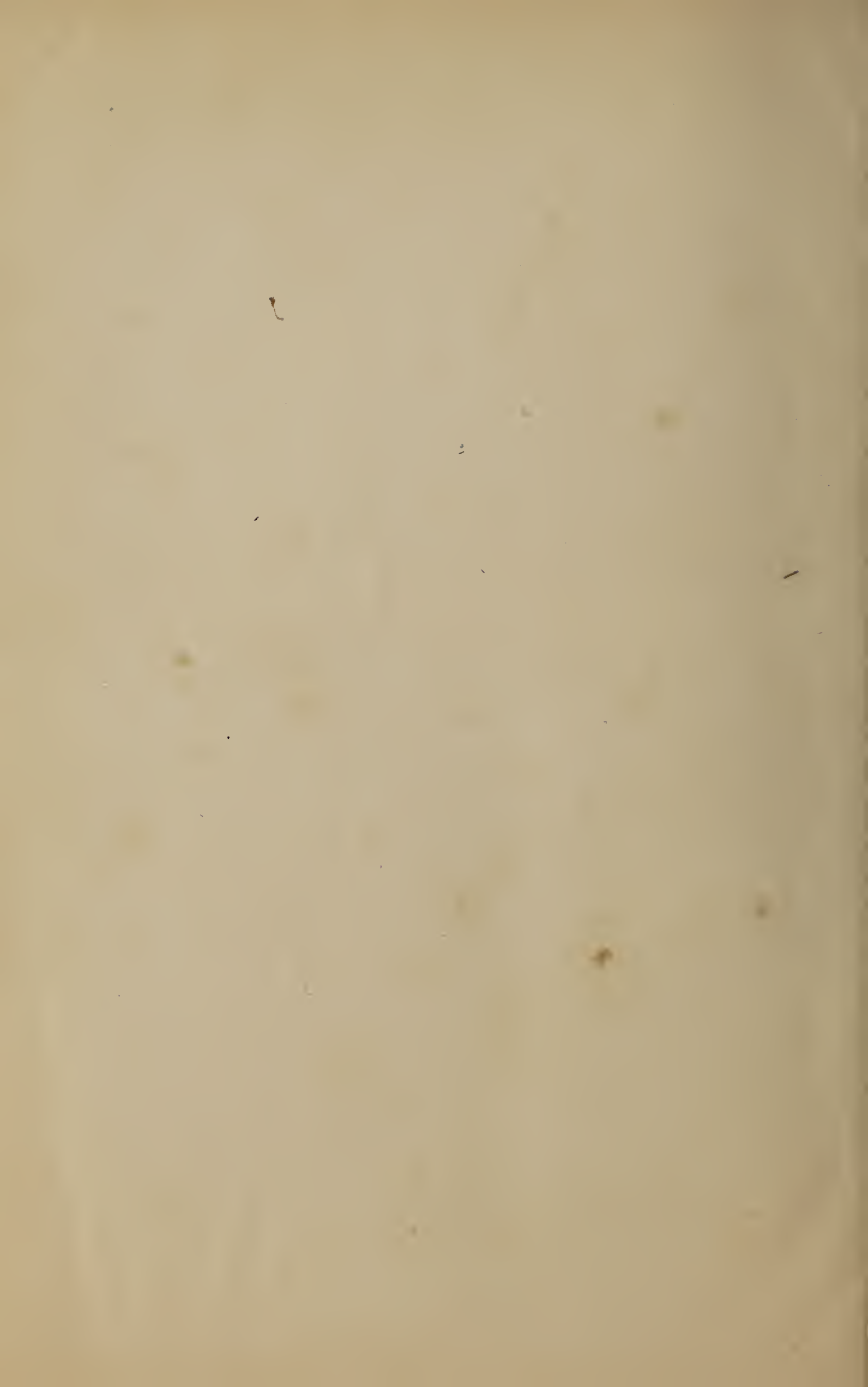
NOTICE.

The expense attending the publication of this work being greater than we had contemplated, we are in consequence unwillingly prevented from giving the documents referred to in the course of the volume.

THE AUTHOR.

ERRATA.—In saying that the Tuatha Dé Danaans were conquered by the Milesians 1268 B. C., we meant this according to the computation of the four Masters who make the age of the world about five thousand years at the coming of Christ.







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